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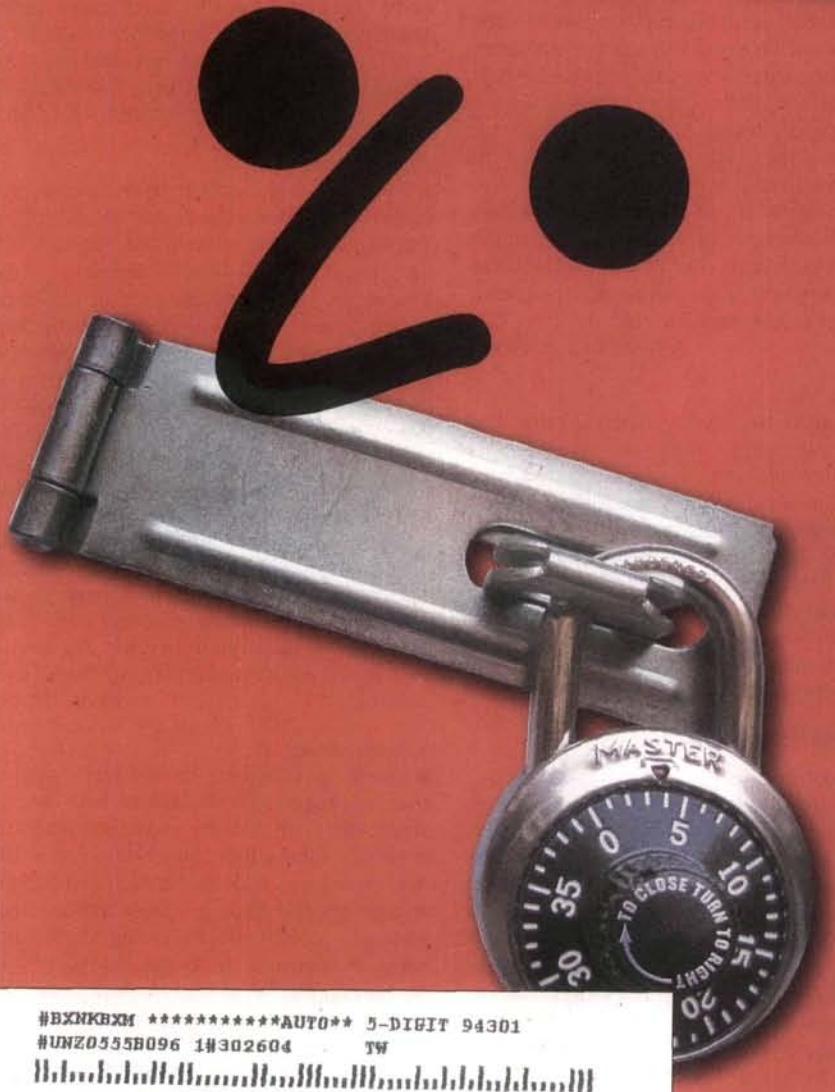

THE NEW PC: CRYBABY CONSERVATIVES
RUSSELL JACOBY

A STUDENT BILL OF FIGHTS
KEVIN MATTSON

THE MIDEAST COMES TO COLUMBIA
SCOTT SHERMAN

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LETTERS

FREEDOM FRIED

Simi Valley, Calif.

■ In Naomi Klein's brilliant analysis of the Iraqi elections in her February 28 "Lookout" column, she writes, "If it weren't for the invasion, Iraqis would not even have the freedom to vote...and then to have that vote completely ignored." Bush did promise to export American-style "democracy" to Iraq, didn't he? The "freedom" to have one's vote ignored is fast becoming a hot trend in America. PAMELA SIRKIN

PREMATURE WITHDRAWAL?

Greenburgh, NY

■ I read with interest David Corn's "Democrats & Withdrawal" [Feb. 28], highlighting the need for the Democrats to come up with an Iraq exit policy. My suggestion: Democrats should press for an Iraqi national referendum. Let the people decide if we should stay or go. If the Iraqi people want us to leave, President Bush and Congress should immediately withdraw our troops. Iraq is not a colony. We must prove to the world that Iraq is an independent nation, and we are not occupiers. PAUL FEINER

BIGOT-TOONS

Champaign, Ill.

■ Richard Goldstein remarks in "Cartoon Wars" [Feb. 21] that "there's a long history of bigotry in editorial cartoons." If we go back far enough into the nineteenth century, we do find some pretty vicious racial and ethnic stereotypes in editorial cartoons. Much of that disappeared fifty years ago, but Goldstein implies that it continues apace today. Mostly it doesn't. Goldstein is pretty clearly a visual illiterate when it comes to cartoons. He remembers that "during the 1996 campaign, Bob Dole was often drawn with a withered arm, or shown as a patient on an operating table." The depiction of Dole on an operating table (assuming this picture ever appeared) probably had more to do with his age, which was often the subject of editoon ridicule. But I doubt any full-time editoonist ever portrayed Dole with a withered arm. I know quite a few editorial cartoonists, and none can recall seeing such a cartoon. Can Goldstein produce a copy of even one? Given that he thinks cartoons are from the realm of childhood fantasy and that giving Gee-Dubya a tiny nose and large ears makes him appear "infantile" rather than chimplike, I pretty strenuously question whether he can accurately decipher any cartoon. R.C. HARVEY

Normal, Ill.

■ Richard Goldstein writes that *Postcards From Buster* and *SpongeBob* inflame conservative tempers, and that right-wingers "aren't really worried about cartoons turning kids queer. Their aim is to see that homophobia is free to operate, and...to keep children from seeing gays as part of the human community."

Children's media generally reinforce heterosexual, white, middle-class norms. Centrist shows and books treat those norms as apolitical and urge adults to think of the child as apolitical ("innocent") too. So when a cartoon points out that adults and children inhabit the same volatile time and space, and supposedly believe in fairness for all, conservatives bristle. Their hypocrisies have been exposed in what seems like the simplest of forms. "Fundamentalists are convinced that pop culture is stealing the souls of their children," Goldstein writes, but what is at stake is children's social conscience. If adults (sentimentally or strategically) withhold information about the world, kids grow up embracing reactionary, unreflective thinking about events. Meanwhile, if adults convince themselves that children don't share their ugly reality, they can do cheerful lip service to the Golden Rule and rationalize destructive policies.

Progressives and liberals need to think carefully about how, or whether, children's media promote social justice. Smart cartoons influence kids' ability to criticize and change the glaring inequities in our shared world.

NATHALIE OP DE BEECK

Livonia, Mich.

■ Oh, *Nation*. No, no, no, no, no. The crucified SpongeBob on the cover—you just shouldn't have done it. No matter how much dishonor the Revs. Falwell and Wildmon and Father Geoghan and Archbishop Gibson and the Venerable George W. Bush have brought upon Christianity, Jesus still deserves our respect. Besides, no representation of torture should be treated as a joke. (For the record, I'm a Buddhist. And, yes, if you'd run a picture of Miss Piggy as Kuan Yin, I would have complained.) ANNE SHARP

GOLDSTEIN REPLIES

New York City

■ I haven't found any sketches of Bob Dole with a withered arm, so they may well not exist, as R.C. Harvey asserts. But cartoonist Michael Ramirez did draw Dole with sticklike, skeletal legs (under the legend "Dead Man Walking"); Sean Delonas rendered him holding a cane, with a seeing-eye dog at his side; and Matt Davies put Dole's name over an unattended walker. The idea that images like these were a comment on Dole's advanced age seems disingenuous, since Ronald Reagan was never shown with such morbid features. This was a mocking response to Dole's disability—a source of much anxiety at the time—done with enough subtlety to provide the artists with deniability. The lesson here is that bigotry in cartoons has grown more indirect, at least when it comes to race. But it's still permissible to traffic in other stereotypes, as the many images of Hillary Clinton riding a broomstick demonstrate. RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

EUROPE'S ANTI-SEMITISM

Ann Arbor, Mich.

■ Tony Judt's "Goodbye to All That?" [Jan. 3], about modern anti-Semitism in Europe, rightly condemns the Zionist claim that "there is no distinction between the Jewish people and the Jewish state." Jews who publicly speak out against the Israeli occupation often find themselves shunned by the Jewish community. How ironic it is that those who have vowed "never again" to allow silence in the face of atrocities have yet to raise their voices on behalf of the besieged Palestinians. LAUREL E. FEDERBUSH
Jewish Witnesses for Peace

San Francisco

■ Tony Judt competently reiterates the obvious facts that not all anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism and that the leading cause of Jew-hating in Europe today is Israel's brutal suppression of the Palestinians. Curiously, however, he makes no attempt to explain the Europeans' peculiar emphasis on Israeli wrongdoing. The Russians (to give one example) have committed crimes in Chechnya comparable to those of the Israelis in occupied Palestine, but they are not vilified the way Israelis are. Nobody compares modern Russia to Nazi Germany or suggests banning Russian academics from conferences.

Putting the liberation of Palestine at the top of the humanitarian agenda may make sense for a host of practical reasons. But if those reasons are not articulated, the international community runs the risk of seeming to judge the Jewish state by different standards from those it uses elsewhere. ALVIN ORLOFF

New Haven, Conn.

■ Citing public opinion surveys that show low and declining hostility to Jews on both sides of the Atlantic, Tony Judt denies that anti-Semitism is worse in Europe than in the United States. But this approach overlooks the well-documented resurgence of particularly intense anti-Semitism among Europe's rapidly growing Muslim minority. In Europe, a substantial number of synagogues and Jewish schools have been burned, and many others are under police guard. Jews are subject to insults on the street and in schools. Moreover, anti-Semitic propaganda of the most violent kind is disseminated in Muslim religious institutions and by Arabic-language media.

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EDITORIALS

The Captive Mind

Since September 11, we've heard a lot about the "intelligence failures" that left the United States unprepared for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. These failures were not simply the result of poor espionage or of bureaucratic incompetence. They reflected a deeper failure to understand a region and its historical wounds, a number of which—though not all—were inflicted by the Western powers. The future of America's profoundly strained relations with the Arab and Muslim world depends, to a great extent, on educating the public. Yet the very people who are in a position to perform this vital task have instead found themselves under siege from extremist pressure groups and craven politicians. Their crime? Challenging the nostrums of those formidable authorities on the Arab world, George W. Bush and Ariel Sharon.

The suppression of "anti-American" dissent, a disconcerting feature of political life since the Bush Administration took power, has been most sharply felt on college campuses. One of the first signs of a chill appeared three years ago, when the president of Harvard University, Lawrence Summers, assailed left-wing criticism of Israel's occupation as "anti-semitic in effect, if not in intent." (Summers later invoked his allegedly nonsexist "intent"—and academic freedom—following the outcry over his suggestion that women weren't genetically equipped to compete with men in the sciences.) Since then, the chill has assumed the trappings of an inquisition against academic critics of US Middle East policy. Some, like the Geneva-based Islamist scholar Tariq Ramadan, who was invited to teach at Notre Dame, have been prevented from entering the country; others have received death threats; still others have seen their reputations impugned, their careers devastated. The inquisition's leaders are right-wing crusaders like Daniel Pipes, Martin Kramer, Charles Jacobs and David Horowitz, who are orchestrating high-profile campaigns against universities and advocating repressive legislation with the aim of overturning the very academic freedom they claim to be defending. The foot soldiers are undergraduate zealots who would rather fire their professors than be exposed to an unfamiliar point of view.

The main battleground, as Scott Sherman reports in the current issue, is Columbia University, where, in a campaign of vilification that has drawn hardly a word of criticism from the university's president, Lee Bollinger, a Boston-based outfit known as the David Project has accused three professors of Middle Eastern origin of intimidating Jewish students. The latest target is the director of Columbia's Middle East Institute, Rashid Khalidi, a distinguished Palestinian-American historian and a longstanding contributor to *The Nation*. In late February the New York City Board of Education, under pressure from Jewish groups and from Congressman Anthony Weiner—a mayoral hopeful and ally of the David Project—announced that Khalidi would be purged from the K–12 teaching development program, owing to criticisms he had made of Israel, though his past participation in the program had aroused no controversy at all.

The targeting of Khalidi is perhaps most revealing of the movement's larger aims, since he is a redoubtable Palestinian moderate. For Israel's occupation he has had harsh words, but he has also had harsh words for the Palestinian leadership, and he openly concedes that most Arab governments have "a much worse track record with respect to democracy than...Israel." Khalidi's most recent book, *Resurrecting Empire*, has earned praise from conservative political scientist John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago and Nobel laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz—hardly radicals. Khalidi is no Ward Churchill. And yet it is likely

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his very moderation that most infuriates his adversaries.

To his credit, Bollinger issued a statement denouncing the Board of Education's decision and withdrew Columbia from the board's Middle East course. Yet the campaign continues. The *New York Sun* recently "exposed" Khalidi's acceptance of money from Saudi Arabia on behalf of the Middle East Institute—i.e., "Arab money," which has acquired the lurid connotation that "Jewish money" once had in the West, a symbol of unproductive wealth and corruption. Khalidi provides indispensable assistance to the Saudis, Martin Kramer told the *Sun*, by blaming Israel for America's troubles in the region: "All he has to do is say it's Palestine, stupid."

But surely the Saudis could find a more enthusiastic spokesman: In *Resurrecting Empire*, Khalidi draws a withering portrait of the Arab world's repressive regimes, including the "entrenched Gulf family autocracies." Curiously enough, the *Sun* has not considered Johns Hopkins professor Fouad Ajami's Saudi connections, which are far cozier than Khalidi's, to be worthy of investigation. Not only does Ajami receive Saudi funds for the program he runs at his university; he has vacationed in the Aspen home of Prince Bandar and, unlike Khalidi, has been all but silent about human rights abuses in the kingdom. Could it be that Ajami's support for Israel—and contempt for Arabs—grants him immunity?

This is not, it must be underscored, a battle between Arab professors and Jewish students as a whole, most of whom have steered clear of their self-appointed defenders. It is a battle between supporters and enemies of academic freedom. In this, Khalidi and his colleagues have enjoyed the support not only of progressive Jews at Columbia but of some pro-Israel faculty members. What is more, the targets of the witch hunt include a number of left-wing Jewish academics, most recently the Israeli political scientist Neve Gordon, a visiting scholar at Berkeley who has been the subject of venomous attacks ("Berkeley's War Against Israel") in *FrontPage Magazine*, an online journal run by David Horowitz.

At the same time, the role that major Jewish organizations have played in this sorry affair cannot be ignored. This is, of course, a sensitive issue. To even speak of right-wing Jewish pressure is to court accusations of anti-Semitism. But we are not invoking a conspiracy, rather a far-reaching campaign by unconditional supporters of Israel who spuriously claim to speak in the name of the entire Jewish community. Their attacks on Middle East scholarship are particularly tragic in light of the contributions made by Jewish organizations in the struggles on behalf of civil liberties and against racial discrimination. If American history has taught us anything, it is that knowledge and freedom go hand in hand, and that the fight against intolerance and the fight against ignorance are indivisible.

Not since the McCarthy era have American campuses felt such a cold breeze—make that an idiot wind. And the new campus McCarthyism is made of much the same ingredients: thuggish intimidation, the circulation of specious rumors and, as Russell Jacoby observes in this issue, that least venerable of American traditions, anti-intellectualism. Left-wing professors of Middle East studies pose a dangerous threat to the new McCarthyites because they dare to open minds. That used to be the mission of American education.

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COMMENT

Anger in Italy

Rome

Giuliana Sgrena, an intrepid journalist for the left-wing newspaper *Il Manifesto* who had become an icon of national unity during her twenty-eight days as a hostage in Iraq, was returning home: Italians in a high mood zapped their TVs to observe the latest from Baghdad while keeping up with the country's spring obsession, the San Remo music festival. But suddenly word arrived that American soldiers had fired on the car in which Sgrena was traveling from Baghdad to the airport. She was wounded. The Italian intelligence officer with her, the number two of our intelligence service, died in the fusillade. The country fell from euphoria to depression.

For a few days Italy gave vent to rage against the United States. From the government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi to sandwich vendors on the street, everyone was asking: Why? Berlusconi, among the staunchest of allies of the Bush Administration, summoned the American ambassador to his offices at Palazzo Chigi. The usually mild-mannered Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, the ceremonial president, demanded "clarity." The leftist opposition toyed with the notion that the Americans had punished the Italians for paying a ransom for Sgrena. Through the window blown open by the clash, it became clear how far Italy had come from being the grateful ward of the United States, a people happy to accept chocolates from the liberating Americans.

On the surface, Berlusconi's anger was understandable. Having a top intelligence operative killed by allied troops is upsetting. And it is election season in Italy. On April 3 regional governments face the electorate, and it will be a test of Berlusconi's strength going into next year's legislative vote. His popularity has been eroding. Italy's economy is stagnant, and the country's participation in the occupation of Iraq—Berlusconi provided 3,000 troops to patrol a piece of southern Iraq—has been widely opposed in Italy.

Of course, blaming the Americans is extra-convenient for Berlusconi: His government has a lot to answer for in the incident. The Italian version of events is fuzzy. Why was the car traveling at night on the dangerous airport road? When did Italian officials inform the Americans of their movements with the freed hostage? Or did they bother? The Italian general awaiting Sgrena's arrival at the airport never informed the Americans, for example, that she had been freed, according to the testimony he gave civilian Italian investigators. And the ransom? Everybody talks about it, but no one confirms it. Does Italy's ambiguity in fact encourage kidnapping?

To avoid answering these questions, Berlusconi jumped on the anti-American bandwagon, announcing that Italy may start withdrawing its soldiers from Iraq in September—an announcement that sounds more like pressuring the United States and an electoral promise than a real decision. It was in a way the perfect exit strategy. The joint US-Italian investigation into the shooting will not be finished, just in case, before the April 3 polls, Italian officials say.

And what of the opposition? The painful truth about the left in Italy is that it would rather score points against Washington than against the government it is trying to unseat. Only briefly has anyone questioned Berlusconi's competence in handling the Sgrena case. The left was equally charitable in an even more egregious disaster—the car-bombing of Italian troops in the city of Nasiriya seventeen months ago. The troops were unprotected by the high concrete barriers common throughout Iraq. Seventeen soldiers and two civilians died. Yet the left has made no effort to pin responsibility on the government, although the defense minister had received intelligence reports with direct warnings about attacks on Italians. The opposition contented itself with the usual calls for United Nations oversight of the occupation, the common denominator of the divided left's position, which ranges from backing of the Americans to calls for an immediate withdrawal.

This may all be bad news for Washington, in that it shows that anti-Americanism has become a convenient way for both right and left to cover their inadequacies. But it is also bad news for European politics. The knee-jerk blame placed on the United States for a disaster, and the implicit shedding of responsibility by the Italian government, with the blessing of the opposition, undermines the notion of accountability. Italy is a country where it is traditionally difficult to get anyone to take responsibility for anything. The blame-Uncle-Sam gambit just makes irresponsibility—on issues as important as war and peace—a deadly game.

LUCIA ANNUNZIATA

Lucia Annunziata, a columnist for the Italian newspaper La Stampa, *has covered Latin America, Central America, the United States and the Middle East. She was president of RAI, National Public Television, a position she resigned in May 2004 to protest Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's conflict of interest.*

'Ownership' Swindle

George W. Bush hasn't even spelled out the details of his plan to privatize Social Security and it's already in trouble, even among some Republican lawmakers—for good reason. There's mounting evidence that privatization won't solve any of the system's financial problems, which loom far in the future and can be easily fixed, but it *will* worsen the government's fiscal condition and reduce future benefits even below what would result if Congress did nothing at all.

Yet Bush will likely push ahead with this cornerstone of his "ownership society"—an agenda rooted in decades of right-wing opposition to the New Deal, driven by ideology and political strategy as well as a brazen desire to help the rich get richer. Progressives can and should fight privatization by highlighting its blatant shortcomings, but they must also confront the long-term strategic battle of which it is a part.

Bush's ownership society is a cleverly packaged assault on the idea that government should work for the common good and that there should be an expansive social contract. It advocates shrinking and privatizing government (including Medicare), undermining public education through vouchers, and reducing taxes on accumulated wealth. It even involves moving away from comprehensive government- or employer-provided health insurance to high-deductible "health savings accounts"—which will

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COMMENT

provide tax breaks for the rich, help few of the uninsured, prompt businesses to dump traditional health insurance for their employees and give less healthcare and more money problems to most people. The ownership society further shifts risk from corporations and the government to individuals—promoted as enhancing personal choice—and transfers income and wealth to those who already have it.

The ownership society gambit is part of the Republicans' class warfare. By encouraging people of middling income to think of themselves as owners of some small bit of property, the right hopes to create an "investor class" that links every owner of a bungalow or paltry private retirement account with executives and the economic elite—the 1 percent of Americans who own more corporate stock than the bottom 90 percent. As an article in *National Review*, reprinted in the Republicans' Social Security playbook, argues, "Participation in capital markets changes people's political attitudes and behavior" and "pro-investor policies tend to perfect themselves over time," so that small tax breaks "generate a constituency that wants bigger tax breaks." The hope is that every private-account holder will see trial lawyers, government regulation, corporate taxation and union drives as a threat to his or her retirement security.

There is a long tradition of American capitalists not only mobilizing small-business and professional support for the elite, but also shifting working-class aspirations to undermine the potential of radical labor and political movements. Instead of delivering on the promise of upward mobility, American capitalism in the late nineteenth century delivered home ownership as a substitute for owning one's land or tools. After the elites forcibly smashed working-class organizations, like the Knights of Labor and anarchists, that demanded an end to wage slavery during the post–Civil War industrialization, the workers' movement increasingly turned toward securing an American, or living, wage instead of demanding control over industry. In the early twentieth century, after Populists and Progressives raised public awareness about the corrupting power of big corporations, there was a wave of interest in industrial democracy as a necessary complement to political democracy. During the 1920s, America began to develop consumer capitalism and a democracy of shoppers alongside a brief infatuation with stock markets.

Then the Depression and the New Deal changed the way America looked at itself: There was a new focus on guaranteeing economic security, securing economic and social rights, expanding a militant labor movement and creating a social contract that reduced inequality. Although the social contract was sustained during the cold war, the New York Stock Exchange's answer to communism in the 1950s was "people's capitalism," or widespread stockholding. More important, people increasingly sought self-realization not through work they controlled but through the things they could buy. The trend is clear: Americans are discouraged from thinking of themselves as workers or citizens in control of their work lives and their own society; they are encouraged to regard themselves as consumers, taxpayers and, now, owners.

The ownership society is promoted as an adaptation to a new economy. But it fails to reflect the economic experiences of most Americans. Forty percent of wage earners save nothing and spend more than they earn. The real problem for most working people and for a growing number of those over 65, according to a recent study by Demos, a New York research group, is that they're living in a "debtorship society," in Michael Kinsley's phrase. They need higher incomes, better and more secure jobs, and unions to fight for them at work. If they made more money, they could save more—even own more.

Bush's proposals to expand tax-free savings vehicles will almost exclusively benefit the wealthy, not the average worker. Even now, only 5 percent of wage earners contribute the maximum to their IRAs and 8 percent contribute the maximum to their 401(k)s. Stock ownership has skyrocketed, but most people only have small nest eggs, and public opinion polls and experience with private accounts in several states indicate that Americans overwhelmingly prefer financial security to "freedom" to invest. Most workers would be better off with well-funded defined-benefit pensions than with their meager portfolios. Also, as stock owners they have no influence over corporations. But as members of giant pension funds, some have a voice for corporate reform [see William Greider, "The New Colossus," February 28].

The ownership-society strategy taps into some deep strains of American culture, but it may be less formidable than Republicans think. A Zogby poll found that people who own stock split nearly evenly between Republicans and Democrats. And polling also indicates that 86 percent of Americans think the government should provide a job to anyone who wants one. There's a deep reservoir of support for expanded social and economic rights, despite profound political ambivalence.

The answer to Bush's ownership society is strengthening the rights of Americans as workers and as citizens, not capitulating to the rhetoric of the right. Progressives certainly don't oppose a more egalitarian and broad distribution of wealth, which would be more meaningful than Bush's ownership society. But in an increasingly insecure and unstable economy, workers need both a greater voice at work and the guarantee of healthcare, education, a decent retirement and other social protections that were advocated by Franklin Roosevelt, as University of Chicago law

CALVIN TRILLIN

GEORGE W. BUSH, THE LION OF BAGHDAD, DEMANDS THAT SYRIA WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON

You must withdraw, since nations can't
Install their troops in other places
To change regimes that they don't like.
Except, of course, in certain cases.

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COMMENT

professor Cass Sunstein argues in his new book, *The Second Bill of Rights: FDR's Unfinished Revolution and Why We Need It More Than Ever*. With more social and economic security, Americans will have far more freedom as individuals, and the country could adapt to a turbulent world more successfully and with far less hardship. Bush says he wants to encourage ownership because "we want more people to have control over your own life." But the control and ownership that Americans need most is control over their work, and ownership of their country.

DAVID MOBERG

David Moberg writes frequently for The Nation.

In Fact . . .

ISLAND OF THE BANNED

■ Maria Margaronis writes from London: The last time the British government suspended habeas corpus was in 1971 in Northern Ireland, where hundreds of republicans were imprisoned without trial. The policy was abandoned four years later after it turned out to be a valuable recruitment tool for the IRA. New Labour's Prevention of Terrorism Act, adopted on March 11, allows the government to issue "control orders" against British and foreign citizens, restricting their contacts and movements or imposing house arrest, as long as the orders are rubber-stamped by a judge. Fiercely resisted by the House of Lords, both opposition parties and many Labour MPs, the bill was forced through hours before the deadline for releasing foreign terror suspects, some held without trial since 2001. The act now renders them banned persons, so that the public cannot know how they've been treated—or how harmless some of them may be. Apart from violating fundamental liberties, the act will increase fear and resentment among British Muslims, who have been told by a government minister that they must now accept more searches on the street. And it will further institutionalize torture: The Home Secretary acknowledged that the government uses "evidence" about terrorism suspects obtained by torture offshore. The intelligence services—whose assessment of the terrorist threat Blair darkly exaggerates—have taken care to distance themselves from the act. But if there is an attack, Blair will be able to say that he took drastic action—even if it was exactly the wrong kind.

(UN)FAIR HARVARD?

■ Jon Wiener writes: Conservatives have long complained about the small number of Republicans on the faculty at Harvard. My best guess is that this is the result of differences in innate ability. You don't have white men in the NBA, you don't have Jewish farmers and you don't have Republican professors at Harvard. (I know there are Jewish farmers on the kibbutzim, but there are also Republicans in the Business School.) The facts are indisputable: In the 2004 election, Harvard employees gave more than $1 million to the Democrats and only about $43,000 to the Republicans. That's 96 percent Democratic. So why do so few Republicans excel on the Harvard faculty—home over the years to forty-one Nobel laureates? Scientists say there are definite differences between our brains. Republican brains tend to be better at creative accounting, while Democrats are better at postmodern theory. Some Republican groups say there are no innate differences. For them, it all comes down to bias and discrimination. If we teach young Republicans just the way we teach young Democrats, and give them the same opportunities, they can succeed. But other Republicans have been willing to concede that Republicans may be hard-wired to earn gigantic salaries for doing essentially nothing. Republicans may simply lack the drive to try to meet the eighty-hour workweeks demanded of top Shakespeare scholars. Of course there are other factors, such as socialization. Republicans are brought up by parents who value insider trading but not gender studies, corporate welfare but not postcolonial theory. Now Republicans have succeeded at raising the issue of their exclusion from the Harvard faculty. But that very success could create new problems. Other groups will sense Harvard's vulnerability to outside pressure. Where will it stop? What will Harvard do if it faces a campaign claiming the school has to hire more women?

FUN AMONG THE NEOCONS

■ You may not be ready for this, but it appears America will soon boast another neoconservative magazine. This one will be a spinoff of *The National Interest*, a quarterly for foreign policy wonks founded by founding neocon Irving Kristol, father of William Kristol, editor of *The Weekly Standard*. The latest issue of *The National Interest* features a scathing critique of the neoconservatives' Iraq delusions and miscalculations and their doctrine "that the United States can be made safe only by making other nations accept American values." This attack reflects the views of the magazine's new proprietor, the Nixon Center, which pushes a "realist" foreign policy orientation at odds with the evangelical bent of orthodox neocons, who preach with one voice that the Iraq War will bring democracy and enlightenment to the Middle East. The article sparked the resignation of ten members of *The National Interest*'s editorial board, including Francis (*The End of History*) Fukuyama, who has announced that he will co-found a rival journal called *The American Interest*, prompting William Kristol to quote his father as saying this country can't have too many neocon magazines. "Soon," Kristol *fils* prophesied, "there are going to be more neoconservative magazines than neoconservatives." We agree, and we predict that *The American Interest* will beget *The Democratic Interest*, which will beget *The Strategic Interest*, which will beget *The Corporate Interest*, which will beget *The Global Interest*, which will beget *The Selfish Interest*, *The Compound Interest*, *The Lack of Interest*, *The Monthly Gold Standard* and *The End of History as We Know It Weekly*.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Three-Card Monte and the One-Party State

How lionlike the Democrats sound as they circle around Social Security, roaring their defiance! After years of servility some of them even dare to shake their fists at Alan Greenspan and hurl insults at the man.

When the chairman of the Federal Reserve put in a decorous word for Social Security "reform" in February, House minority leader Harry Reid made so bold as to call Greenspan a "hack." Paul Krugman, who primly chastised Ralph Nader back in 2000 for wanting to "re-educate" Greenspan, now pelts the chairman with rotten cabbages on an almost weekly basis in his *New York Times* column.

Presumably, enough Democrats realize that if they can't be seen as putting up a fight on Social Security, then the last supposed major reason for anyone to support their party will have disappeared. (To anyone claiming choice to have an abortion is as powerful a reason, I offer the obvious, which is that the Republicans will never formally move to rescind the legality of abortion. They will merely continue in the enterprise, in which countless Democrats have colluded, of making it harder and harder for poor women to get one.)

The etiquette of substantive one-party rule in America requires us to overlook the facts that the preliminary salvos advertising the need for Social Security "reform" were launched by the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan and that under Bill Clinton privatization was so far advanced that the secret team under the supervision of Lawrence Summers, then in Clinton's Treasury Department, was discussing how to number the individual retirement accounts. Fortunately, Monica Lewinsky caught Clinton's eye, and before long he had impeachment and the need for friends to his left at the front of his mind.

So the Democrats get to boast in the midterm elections next year that they fought Bush to a standstill on the key plank in the President's domestic agenda. Meanwhile, the Republicans, many of whom do not want the undermining of Social Security hung round their necks, roll two long-cherished bills through Congress, both with crucial Democratic support.

Near the end of February many House Democrats voted for a Republican bill to transfer large class-action suits from state to federal courts. It's the state courts that have awarded big settlements against the tobacco and asbestos companies. Federal judges have consistently cut back the big awards. Transfer of the suits will be a huge victory for the business lobby. Earlier in February the Senate passed the same bill, 72 to 26. Among Democrats voting for a bill written by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers were such supposed bright hopes as Obama of Illinois, Salazar of Colorado and Bayh of Indiana, along with possible aspirants for the 2008 nomination such as Dodd of Connecticut.

Then in early March no fewer than eighteen Democratic senators joined the Republicans in voting through a bill the banks and credit-card companies have been touting for years, a rewrite of the bankruptcy laws to mandate debt peonage for ordinary Americans. The House will soon follow suit. The bill just passed by the Senate will require many people filing for bankruptcy court protection to repay a portion of their debt under Chapter 13 of the bankruptcy code rather than allowing them to wipe most of it out under Chapter 7. I've seen estimates that this change could force 30,000 to 100,000 additional filers a year into Chapter 13.

Maybe we should multiply those numbers. Many Americans have virtually no leeway on their monthly budget. A co-pay on some relatively minor health emergency sends them scrambling to the loan shop. If interest rates start to move upward, many households on flexible mortgage rates will default, and they'll plummet into bankruptcy and debt peonage for the rest of their lives.

And as the dollar tumbles, so does one of the keystones of what in the 1950s used to be reverently termed the American Way of Life, meaning in coarse material terms a civilization that guaranteed its middle class the decent jobs consequent upon affordable higher education and the well-paying jobs that stem from same.

But one-party America voted for those jobs to leave. All through the 1990s Democrats and Republicans voted for the free-trade agreements that saw blue-collar jobs and now white-collar jobs flow south and east. The Labor Department reported in March that 373,000 discouraged college graduates dropped out of the labor force in February, a far higher number than the number of new jobs created. "So far in the 21st century," Reagan's former Assistant Treasury Secretary (and fierce Bush critic) Paul Craig Roberts writes, "there is scant sign of the American 'new economy.' The promised knowledge-based jobs have not appeared. To the contrary, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports a net loss of 221,000 jobs in six major engineering job classifications."

So it's fair to say this revamp of the bankruptcy laws is as sinister and menacing a portent of the shape of things to come as would be the physical construction of new debtors' prisons for the middle class in every American town to match the prisons for the poor already planted in the outback.

What a dismal pass we have reached in one-party America. These days there are more auto manufacturing jobs in Ontario than in Michigan. Why? Canada has a national health plan. Despite occasional pro forma denials, both GM and Ford favor one, since health is the biggest item in their budgets. Both US senators from Michigan oppose a national health plan. Both are Democrats. That's the reality of one-party America.

Senator Mitch McConnell and other Republicans on the Hill suggested the other day that Bush's Social Security reform is like three-card monte. While the Democrats circle round the old New Deal program, the Republicans drive through the corporate agenda on tort reform and bankruptcy. Next will come the environment. Enough Democrats will be with them on that too.

And then in 2010 a Democrat can "fix" Social Security. ■

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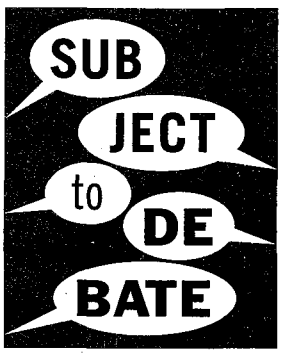
KATHA POLLITT

Invisible Women



Women don't shout. Women don't like politics. Women shrink from intellectual debate. Women don't *try*. It's time for another round of "What's Wrong with Women?" Last month's category was science. This month it's punditry, sparked by a testy (well, nasty) letter from syndicated columnist and FOX-TV commentator Susan Estrich to Michael Kinsley, the courtly editorial and opinion editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, pointing out the lack of female talent on his op-ed pages: In nine weeks, only 20 percent of pieces were written by women. Now everybody's jumping in: "Feminists Get Hysterical" (Heather MacDonald in *City Journal*) is a typical sentiment.

"There ought to be more women on op-ed pages in general. Over time, I intend to make that happen," said Fred Hiatt, editorial page editor of the *Washington Post*, which counts one woman, Anne Applebaum, among its nineteen pundits; in the first two months of 2005 one in ten op-ed pieces were by women. Take your time, Mr. Hiatt! As Applebaum warns, you don't want to hire untalented women who'll just write about "women's issues." *Her* friends got their bylines by "having clear views, knowing their subjects, writing well and learning to ignore the ad hominem attacks that go with the job." And you know how few women meet those lofty criteria! "The pool of available people doing opinion writing is still tilted toward men," said *New York Times* editorial page editor Gail Collins. "There are probably fewer women, in the great cosmic scheme of things, who feel comfortable writing very straight opinion stuff, and they're less comfortable hearing something on the news and batting something out." Come April, the *Times* will have seven male op-ed columnists, plus Maureen Dowd. Not to worry though, Dowd writes, there are "plenty of brilliant women.... We just need to find and nurture them."

Oh, nurture my eye. It may be true that more men than women like to bloviate and "bat things out"—socialization does count for something. So do social rewards: I have seen men advance professionally on levels of aggression, self-promotion and hostility that would have a woman carted off to a loony bin—unless, of course, she happens to be Ann Coulter. But feminine psychology doesn't explain why all five of *USA Today*'s political columnists are male, or why *Time*'s eleven columnists are male—down to the four in Arts and Entertainment—or why at *Newsweek* it's one out of six in print and two out of thirteen on the Web. According to *Editor and Publisher*, the proportion of female syndicated columnists (one in four) hasn't budged since 1999. The tiny universe of political-opinion writers includes plenty of women who hold their own with men, who do not wilt at the prospect of an angry e-mail, who have written cover stories and bestsellers and won prizes—and whose phone numbers are likely already in the Rolodexes of the editors who wonder where the women are. How hard could it be to "find" Barbara Ehrenreich, who filled in for Thomas Friedman for one month last summer and wrote nine of the best columns the *Times* has seen in a decade? Or Dahlia Lithwick, legal correspondent for *Slate*, another Friedman fill-in, who actually possesses a deep grasp of the field she covers—which cannot always be said for John Tierney, who begins his *Times* column in April? What about Susan Faludi? The *Village Voice*'s Sharon Lerner? Debra Dickerson? Wendy Kaminer? *The Progressive*'s Ruth Conniff? Laura Flanders? Debbie Nathan? Ruth Rosen, veteran of the *LA Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*? Our own Patricia Williams and Naomi Klein? Natalie Angier, bestselling author and top *New York Times* science writer, would be a fabulous op-ed columnist. And, not to be one of those shrinking violets everyone's suddenly so down on, What about me? Am I a potted plant?

You'll note I've mostly named liberals and feminists—I'm sure there are good women writers on the right out there, too, and their job prospects are probably a lot rosier. A conservative woman who endlessly attacks feminists, like *The New Yorker*'s Caitlin Flanagan or the *Los Angeles Times*'s departed Norah Vincent or the *Boston Globe*'s Cathy Young—what could be hotter than that?

Besides being false and insulting, all this fuss about women not having the *cojones* for no-holds-barred debate overlooks the fact that, as Deborah Tannen pointed out in the *LA Times*, there are many ways to write political commentary. Not every male columnist is a fire-breather, an instant expert, a tub-thumper, an obnox. Think of the *Washington Post*'s E.J. Dionne Jr. or *USA Today*'s Walter Shapiro, both mannerly and sweet-natured to a fault. Some columnists use their perch to do crusading reporting—Bob Herbert's great strength—to tell stories, to analyze ideas and policies, to ask questions, to skewer received opinion with wit and humor. And then there are the ones who just drone boringly on. Surely there are women capable of that!

That opinion writing is a kind of testosterone-powered food fight is a popular idea in the blogosphere. Male bloggers are always wondering where the women are and why women can't/don't/won't throw bananas. After all, anyone can have a blog, right? In the wake of the Estrich-Kinsley contretemps, the *Washington Monthly* blogger Kevin Drum mused upon the absence of women bloggers and got a major earful from women bloggers, who are understandably sick of hearing that they don't exist. "I'm staring you right in the face, Kevin," wrote Avedon Carol (http://sideshow.me.uk), "and even though you've said you read me every day you don't have me on your blogroll. It's things like this that make me tear out my hair when people wonder why women are underrepresented...." There are actually lots of women political bloggers out there—spend half an hour reading them and you will never again say women aren't as argumentative as men! But what makes a blog visible is links, and male bloggers tend not to link to women (to his credit, Kevin Drum has added nineteen to his blogroll). Perhaps they sense it might interfere with the circle jerk in cyberspace—the endless mutual self-infatuation that is one of the less attractive aspects of the blogging phenom.

Or maybe, like so many op-ed editors, they just don't see women, even when the women are right in front of them. ■

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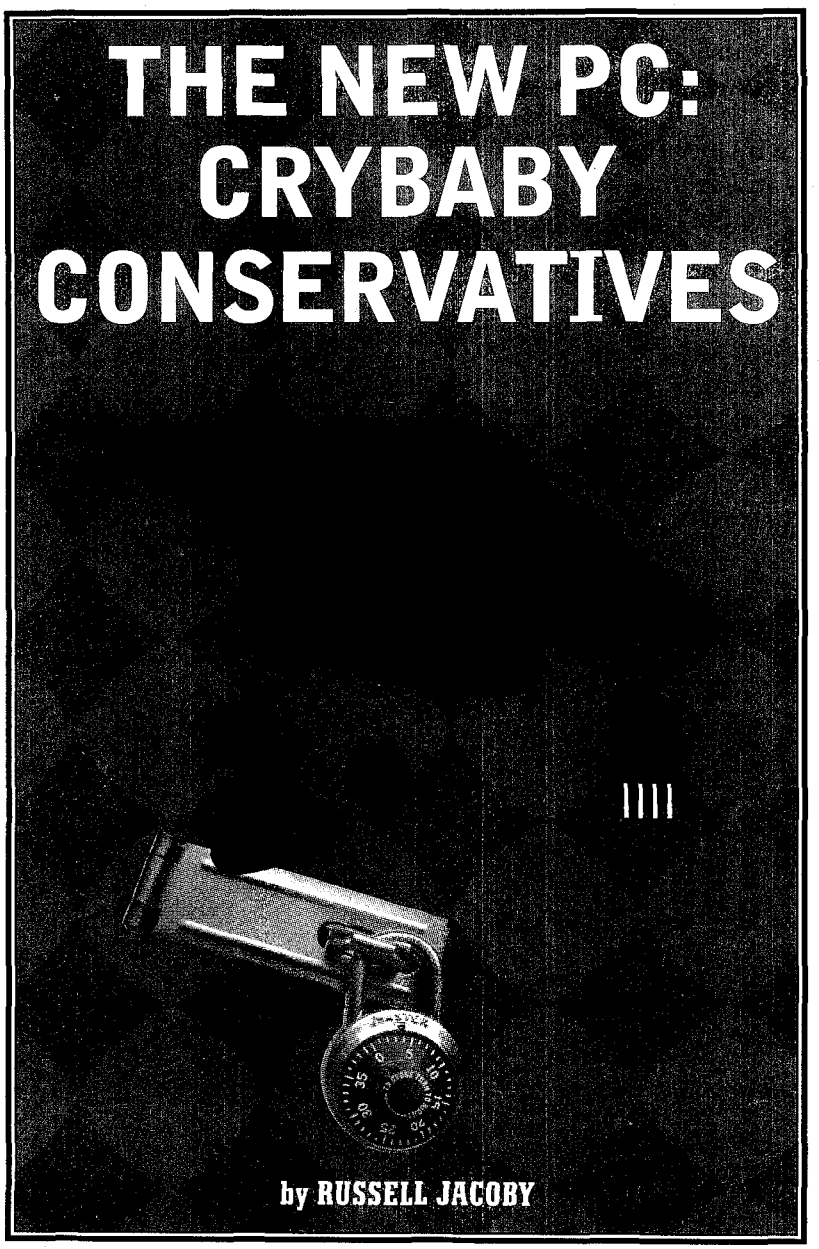
ARTICLES

THE NEW PC: CRYBABY CONSERVATIVES



by RUSSELL JACOBY

The Yale student did not like what he heard. Sociologists derided religion and economists damned corporations. One professor pre-emptively rejected the suggestion that "workers on public relief be denied the franchise." "I propose, simply, to expose," wrote the young author in a booklong denunciation, one of "the most extraordinary incongruities of our time. Under the "protective label 'academic freedom,'" the institution that derives its "moral and financial support from Christian individualists then addresses itself to the task of persuading the sons of these supporters to be atheistic socialists."

For William F. Buckley Jr., author of the 1951 polemic *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of "Academic Freedom"* and a founder of modern American conservatism, the solution to this scandal was straightforward: Fire the wanton professors. No freedom would be abridged. The socialist professor could "seek employment at a college that was interested in propagating socialism." None around? No problem. The market has spoken. The good professor can retool or move on.

Buckley's book can be situated as a salvo in the McCarthyite attack on the universities. Indeed, even as a Yale student, Buckley maintained cordial relationships with New Haven FBI agents, and at the time of the book's publication he worked for the CIA. Buckley was neither the first nor the last to charge that teachers were misleading or corrupting students. At the birth of Western culture, a teacher called Socrates was executed for filling "young people's heads with the wrong ideas."

In the twentieth century, clamor about subversive American professors has come in waves, cresting around World War I, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and today. The earlier assaults can be partially explained by the political situation. Authorities descended upon professors who questioned America's entry into World War I, sympathized with the new Russian Revolution or inclined toward communism during the cold war.

Today the situation is different. The fear during the cold war, however trumped up, that professors served America's enemies could claim a patina of plausibility insofar as some teachers identified themselves as communists or socialists. With communism dead, leftism moribund and liberalism wounded, the fear of international subversion no longer threatens. Even the most rabid critics do not accuse professors of being on the payroll of Al Qaeda or other Islamist extremists. Moreover, conservatives command the presidency, Congress, the courts, major news outlets and the majority of corporations; they appear to have the country comfortably in their pocket. What fuels their rage, then? What fuels the persistent charges that professors are misleading the young?

A few factors might be adduced, but none are completely convincing. One is the age-old anti-intellectualism of conservatives. Conservatives distrust unregulated intellectuals. Forty years ago McCarthyism spurred Richard Hofstadter to write his classic *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*. In addition, a basic insecurity plagues conservatives today, a fear that their reign will be short or a gnawing doubt about their legitimacy. Dissenting voices

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cannot be tolerated, because they imply that a conservative future may not last forever. One Noam Chomsky is one too many. Angst besets the triumphant conservatives. Those who purge Darwin from America's schools must yell in order to drown out their own misgivings, the inchoate realization that they are barking at the moon.

Today's accusations against subversive professors differ from those of the past in several respects. In a sign of the times, the test for disloyalty has shifted far toward the center. Once an unreliable professor meant an anarchist or communist; now it includes Democrats. Soon it will be anyone to the left of Attila the Hun. Second, the charges do not (so far) come from government committees investigating un-American activities but from conservative commentators and their student minions. A series of groups such as Campus Watch, Academic Bias and Students for Academic Freedom enlist students to monitor and publicize professorial conduct. Third, the new charges are advanced not against but in the name of academic freedom or a variant of it; and, in the final twist, the new conservative critics seem driven by an ethos that they have adopted from liberalism: affirmative action and a sense of victimhood, which they officially detest.

What does it show that fifty-four philosophy professors admitted to voting Democratic regularly and only four to voting Republican?

Conservatives complain relentlessly that they do not get a fair shake in the university, and they want parity—that is, more conservatives on faculties. Conservatives are lonely on American campuses as well as beleaguered and misunderstood. News that tenured poets vote Democratic or that Kerry received far more money from professors than Bush pains them. They want America's faculties to reflect America's political composition. Of course, they do not address such imbalances in the police force, Pentagon, FBI, CIA and other government outfits where the stakes seem far higher and where, presumably, followers of Michael Moore are in short supply. If life were a big game of Monopoly, one might suggest a trade to these conservatives: You give us one Pentagon, one Department of State, Justice and Education, plus throw in the Supreme Court, and we will give you every damned English department you want.

Conservatives claim that studies show an outrageous number of liberals on university faculties and increasing political indoctrination or harassment of conservative students. In fact, only a very few studies have been made, and each is transparently limited or flawed. The most publicized investigations amateurishly correlate faculty departmental directories with local voter registration lists to show a heavy preponderance of Democrats. What this demonstrates about campus life and politics is unclear. Yet these findings are endlessly cited and cross-referenced as if by now they confirm a tiresome truth: leftist domination of the universities. A column by George Will affects a world-weariness in commenting on a recent report. "The great secret is out: Liberals dominate campuses. Coming soon: 'Moon Implicated in Tides, Studies Find.'"

The most careful study is "How Politically Diverse Are the Social Sciences and Humanities?" Conducted by California economist Daniel Klein and Swedish social scientist Charlotta Stern, it has been trumpeted by many conservatives as a corrective to the hit-and-miss efforts of previous inquiries by going directly to the source. The researchers sent out almost 5,500 questionnaires to professors in six disciplines in order to tabulate their political orientation. A whopping 70 percent of the recipients did what any normal person would do when receiving an unsolicited fourteen-page survey over the signature of an assistant dean at a small California business school: They tossed it. With just 17 percent of their initial pool remaining after the researchers made additional exclusions, some unastounding findings emerged. Thirty times as many anthropologists voted Democratic as voted Republican; for sociologists the ratio was almost the same. For economists, however, it sank to three to one. On average these professors voted Democratic over Republican fifteen to one.

What does it show that fifty-four philosophy professors admitted to voting Democratic regularly and only four to voting Republican? Does a Democratic vote reveal a dangerous philosophical or campus leftism? Are Democrats more likely to deceive students? Proselytize them? Harass them? Steal library books? Must they be neutralized by Republican professors, who are free of these vices? This study opens by quoting the conservative *New York Times* columnist David Brooks on the loneliness of campus conservatives and closes by bemoaning the "one-party system" of faculties. Nonleftist voices are "muffled and fearful," the researchers say. They do not, however, present a scintilla of information to confirm this. It is not a minor point. No matter how well tuned, studies of professorial voting habits reveal nothing of campus policies or practices.

The notion that faculties should politically mirror the US population derives from an affirmative action argument about the underrepresentation of African-Americans, Latinos or women in certain areas. Conservatives now add political orientation, based on voting behavior, to the mix. "In the U.S. population in general, Left and Right are roughly equal (1 to 1)," Klein and Stern lecture us, but in social science and humanities faculties "clearly the non-Left points of view have been marginalized." This is "clearly" not true, or at least it is not obvious what constitutes a "non-Left" point of view in art history or linguistics. In any event, why stop with left and right? Why not add religion to the underrepresentation violation? Perhaps Klein, the lead researcher, should explore Jewish and Christian affiliation among professors. A survey would probably show that Jews, 1.3 percent of the population, are seriously overrepresented in economics and sociology (as well as other fields). Isn't it likely that Jews marginalize Christianity in their classes? Shouldn't this be corrected? Shouldn't 76 percent of American faculty be Christian?

The Klein study and others like it focus on the humanities and social sciences. Conservatives seem little interested in exploring

Russell Jacoby is the author of The Last Intellectuals, Social Amnesia *and other works. His new book,* Picture Imperfect: Utopian Thought for an Anti-Utopian Age, *will be published this spring by Columbia University Press. He teaches history at UCLA.*

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the political orientation of engineering professors or biogeneticists. The more important the field, in terms of money, resources and political clout, the less conservatives seem exercised by it. At many universities the medical and science buildings, to say nothing of the business faculties or the sports complexes, tower over the humanities. I teach at UCLA. The history professors are housed in cramped quarters of a decaying Modernist structure. Our classiest facility is a conference room that could pass as generic space in any downtown motel. The English professors inhabit what appears to be an aging elementary school outfitted with minuscule offices. A hop away is a different world. The UCLA Anderson School of Management boasts its own spanking-new buildings, plush seminar rooms, spacious lecture halls with luxurious seats, an "executive dining room" and—gold in California—reserved parking facilities. Conservatives seem unconcerned about the political orientation of the business professors. Shouldn't half be Democrats and at least a few be Trotskyists?

After years of decrying the 'political correctness police,' thin-skinned conservatives have joined in; they want their own ideological wardens.

Another recent study heralded as proving leftist campus domination was sponsored by the conservative American Council of Trustees and Alumni; it sought to document not the political orientation of professors but, more decisively, the political intimidation of students by faculty. Claiming an "error rate of plus or minus four," the sponsors assert that their study demonstrates widespread indoctrination, that almost 50 percent of students report that professors "use the classroom to present their personal political views." According to the sponsor, "The ACTA survey clearly shows that faculty are injecting politics into the classroom in ways that students believe infringe upon their freedom to learn."

Closer examination of the study reveals dubious methodology. Most questions were asked in a way that nearly dictated one answer. Students were asked if they "somewhat agree" that "some" professors did this or that. A key statement ran: "On my campus, some professors use the classroom to present their personal political views." And the possible responses ran from "Strongly agree" and "Somewhat agree" to "Somewhat disagree" and "Strongly disagree." Of the 658 students polled, 10 percent answered "Strongly agree" and 36 percent "Somewhat agree," which yields the almost 50 percent figure that appeared in headlines claiming half of American students are subject to political indoctrination.

Yet the statement is too imprecise to negate. Asked whether "some" professors on campus—somewhere or sometime—interject extraneous politics, most students (36 percent) respond that they "Somewhat agree." That is the intelligent and safe answer: "somewhat" agreeing that "some" professors misuse politics. To partially or even completely negate the statement would imply that no professors ever mishandled politics. Yet a vague assent to a vague assertion only yields twice as much vagueness. The statement does not so much inquire whether the student him- or herself directly experienced professors misusing politics, which might be more revealing. Yet these murky findings are heralded as proof of campus totalitarianism.

These scattered studies are only part of the story. A series of articles, books and organizations have taken up the cause of leftist campus domination. An outfit called Students for Academic Freedom, with the credo "You can't get a good education if they're only telling you half the story," is sponsored by the conservative activist David Horowitz and boasts 150 campus chapters. It monitors slights, insults and occasionally more serious infractions that students suffer or believe they suffer. The organization provides an online "complaint" form, where disgruntled students check a category such as "Mocked national political or religious figures" (mocking local figures is presumably acceptable) or "Required readings or texts covering only one side of issues" and then provide details.

At the organization's website the interested visitor can keep abreast of the latest outrages as well as troll through hundreds of complaints in the Academic Freedom Complaint Center. Most listings concern professors' comments that supposedly malign patriotic or family values; for instance, under "Introduced Controversial Material" a student complained that in a lecture on Reconstruction the professor noted how much he disliked Bush and the Iraq War. A very few complaints raise more serious issues, and some of these are pursued by other Horowitz publications or are seized on by conservative columnists and sometimes by the national news services. A Kuwaiti student who defends the Iraq War recounts that he fell afoul of a leftist professor in a government class, who directed him to seek psychological counseling. "Apparently, if you are an Arab Muslim who loves America you must be deranged." To his credit, Horowitz's online journal also ran a story from the same college about a student who was penalized after he defended abortion in an ethics class conducted by a strident prolifer [for background on Horowitz, see Scott Sherman, "David Horowitz's Long March," July 3, 2000].

Virtually all "cases" reported to the Academic Freedom Abuse Center deal with leftist political comments or leftist assigned readings. To use the idiom of right-wing commentators, we see here the emergence of crybaby conservatives, who demand a judicial remedy, guaranteed safety and representation. Convinced that conservatives are mistreated on American campuses, Horowitz has championed a solution, a bill detailing "academic freedom" of students; the proposed law has already been introduced in several state legislatures. Until recently, if the notion of academic freedom for students had any currency, it referred to their right to profess and publish ideas on and off campus.

Horowitz takes the traditional academic freedom that insulated professors from political interference and extends it to students. As a former leftist, Horowitz has the gift of borrowing from the enemy. His "academic bill of rights" talks the language of diversity; it insists that students need to hear all sides and it refashions a "political correctness" for conservatives, who, it turns out, are at least as prickly as any other group when it comes to perceived slights. After years of decrying the "political correctness police," thin-skinned conservatives have joined in; they want their own ideological wardens to enforce intellectual conformity.

While some propositions of the academic bill of rights are un-

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impeachable (for example, students should not be graded "on the basis of their political or religious beliefs"), academic freedom extended to students easily turns it into the end of freedom for teachers. In a rights society students have the right to hear all sides of all subjects all the time. "Curricula and reading lists," says principle number four of Horowitz's academic bill of rights, "should reflect the uncertainty and unsettled character of all human knowledge" and provide "students with dissenting sources and viewpoints where appropriate."

"Where appropriate" is the kicker, but the consequences for teachers are clear enough from perusing the "abuses" that Students for Academic Freedom lists or that Horowitz plays up in his columns. For instance, Horowitz lambastes a course called Modern Industrial Societies, which uses as its sole text a 500-page leftist anthology, *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*. This is a benign book published by a mainstream press, yet under the academic bill of rights the professor could be hauled before authorities to explain such a flagrant violation. If not fired, he or she could be commanded to assign a 500-page anthology published by the Free Enterprise Institute. Another "abuse" occurred in an introductory class, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, where military approaches were derided. A student complained that "the only studying of conflict resolution that we did was to enforce the idea that non-violent means were the only legitimate sources of self-defense." This was "indoctrination," not education. Presumably the professor of "peace studies" should be ordered to give equal time to "war studies." By this principle, should the United States Army War College be required to teach pacifism?

In the name of intellectual diversity and students' rights, many courses could be challenged. A course on Freud would have to include anti-Freudians; a course on religion, atheists; a course on mysticism, the rationalists. The academic bill of rights seeks to impose some limits by restricting diversity to "significant scholarly viewpoints." Yet this is a porous shield. Once the right to decide the content of courses is extended to students, the Holocaust deniers, creationists and conspiracy addicts will come knocking at the door—and indeed they already have.

The bill of rights for students and the allied conservative watchdog groups that monitor lectures and book assignments represent the reinvention of the old un-American activities committees in the age of diversity and rights. The witch hunt has become democratized. Students for Academic Freedom counsels its members that when they come across an "abuse" like "controversial material" in a course, they should "write down the date, class and name of the professor," "accumulate a list of incidents or quotes," obtain witnesses and lodge a complaint. Rights are supposed to preserve freedoms, but here the opposite would occur. Professors would become more claustrophobic and cautious. They would offer fewer "controversial" ideas. Assignments would become blander.

More leftists undoubtedly inhabit institutions of higher education than they do the FBI or the Pentagon or local police and fire departments, about which conservatives seem little concerned, but who or what says every corner of society should reflect the composition of the nation at large? Nothing has shown that higher education discriminates against conservatives, who probably apply in smaller numbers than liberals. Conservatives who pursue higher degrees may prefer to slog away as junior partners in law

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offices rather than as assistant professors in English departments. Does an "overrepresentation" of Democratic anthropologists mean Republican anthropologists have been shunted aside? Does an "overrepresentation" of Jewish lawyers and doctors mean non-Jews have been excluded?

Higher education in America is a vast enterprise boasting roughly a million professors. A certain portion of these teachers are incompetents and frauds; some are rabid patriots and fundamentalists—and some are ham-fisted leftists. All should be upbraided if they violate scholarly or teaching norms. At the same time, a certain portion of the 15 million students they teach are fanatics and crusaders. The effort, in the name of rights, to shift decisions about lectures and assignments from professors to students marks a backward step: the emergence of the thought police on skateboards. At its best, education is inherently controversial and tendentious. While this truth can serve as an excuse for gross violations, the remedy for unbalanced speech is not less speech but more. If college students can vote and go to war, they can also protest or drop courses without enlisting the new commissars of intellectual diversity. ■

THE RIGHT TAKES AIM AT THE IVORY TOWER—BRANDISHING A NEW LEGISLATIVE AGENDA.

A Student Bill of Fights

KEVIN MATTSON

Emboldened by political victory, the right has gone hunting in the last refuge of the liberal elite—our universities—to smoke out radicals. Everyone knows about Ward Churchill, whose talk at Hamilton College was canceled once a student Googled an essay of his that mentioned "little Eichmanns" in the World Trade Center. Bill O'Reilly attacked, and Governor Bill Owens demanded that the University of Colorado fire him. Also consider Oneida Meranto, a political science professor at Metropolitan State College of Denver. Conservative students complained about her liberal bias in class and got support from reactionary ex-radical David Horowitz, who is promoting an "academic bill of rights" in state legislatures. There's also Elyse Crystall, an English professor at the University of North Carolina, who objected to the comments of a "white, heterosexual, Christian male" in her class. She got bad press, hate e-mails and the attention of Representative Walter Jones, who persuaded the Office for Civil Rights of the US Education Department to investigate. She was found guilty of harassment.

RYAN INZANA

The ivory tower is now face to face with politics. If there's any doubt, just consider Larry Mumper, state senator from Marion, Ohio. Well-liked among colleagues, he's served since 1997 without much controversial legislation to his name. Now he's known for Senate Bill (SB) 24, an academic bill of rights that would require "curricula and reading lists" at all Ohio colleges (public and private) to "provide students with dissenting sources and viewpoints" (calling all publishers of Holocaust deniers and flat-earthers!). The bill argues that faculty should "not infringe the academic freedom and quality of education of their students by persistently introducing controversial matter into the classroom or coursework that has no relation to their subject of study and that serves no legitimate pedagogical purpose." One fellow state senator told me that SB 24 came "out of the blue." He was used to talking about soybeans and crop labeling with Mumper, not this.

Mumper's comments to the press illustrate how unprepared he was for attention. He explained to the *Columbus Dispatch* that "80 percent or so" of professors "are Democrats, liberals or socialists or card-carrying Communists," as if for a moment he forgot what decade he lived in. When a journalist asked him if he had ever met a communist, Mumper explained the term was a euphemism for "people who try to over-regulate and try to bring in a lot of issues we don't agree with." At the same time, he admitted that "we're going to put in some ways to monitor classrooms" to enforce the academic bill of rights. The irony of this was noted by numerous commentators.

Mumper told another reporter that funding cuts were "always in the back" of his mind. He elaborated, "Why should we, as fairly moderate to conservative legislators, continue to support universities that turn out students who rail against the very policies that their parents voted us in for?" One of Mumper's co-sponsors explained that parents were tired of paying taxes for education "and then finding out their kids are being taught things that do not reflect their family values." It's as if Sinclair Lewis came back to rewrite *Babbitt* with its central character winning public office.

The state senators opposing SB 24 speak of a "coordinated national campaign." They're right. A right-wing infrastructure has been hard at work on this issue. Most important are David Horowitz and his organization Students for Academic Freedom (SAF), which has been documenting cases of alleged liberal bias in the classroom on its website. Now they're pushing the academic bill of rights, which they argue is necessary to protect students who would otherwise fall prey to the liberal professoriate. In my own university newspaper, conservative students likened their cause to the civil rights movement.

The campaign is making headway. In addition to Ohio, so-called academic bills of rights have now been introduced in

Kevin Mattson, who teaches history at Ohio University, is the author of When America Was Great: The Fighting Faith of Postwar Liberalism *and co-editor of* Steal This University: The Rise of the Corporate University and the Academic Labor Movement *(both Routledge).*

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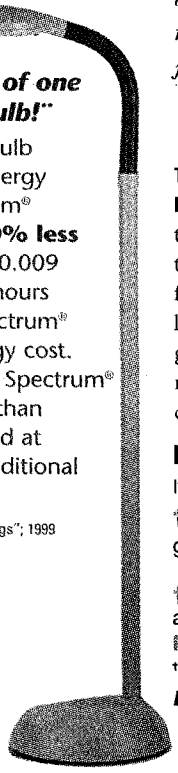

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Florida, Indiana, Tennessee, Rhode Island, Maryland and New York. After protests emerged from some savvy faculty in Colorado, the legislature yanked its version of the bill and accepted a less binding agreement. Something similar happened in Georgia. And in California the bill has been reintroduced after being killed earlier.

The impact has even reached the national level. In late 2003 Congress introduced legislation to reauthorize the Higher Education Act (HEA). Georgia Representative Jack Kingston—a congressman who wants the Ten Commandments posted in the House and Senate chambers—tried to attach an academic bill of rights to the reauthorization. This resolution would have prevented professors "from using their courses or their positions for the purpose of political, ideological, religious, or antireligious indoctrination." The resolution died in committee, but its language has since appeared in the College Opportunity and Access Act of 2004, another legislative attempt to reauthorize the HEA.

It's not clear how many actual laws will emerge from this maneuvering. But in the realm of symbolic politics, passing legislation might not matter so much as influencing public opinion. Horowitz himself explained, "The only reason for these laws is to stimulate an attack of conscience." This fits his overall strategy. As he wrote in his manifesto *The Art of Political War*, "In political warfare, the weapons are words and symbols because there is no time to reach the electorate with lengthy arguments—or even short ones." So get ready for a war over the popular perception of academia. It's fueled by a long legacy of anti-intellectualism and right-wing populism that focuses anger on liberal eggheads.

Unfortunately, America's professoriate is in a weakened state, and is ill prepared to fight back—notwithstanding the false stereotypes Horowitz promulgates in doing battle. For instance, during an exchange, Horowitz labeled Graham Larkin, an art professor at Stanford University, a "reactionary" defending "an entrenched class of privileged academics with lifetime tenure." When Horowitz spoke at the University of Colorado, a newspaper reported his characterization of professors as "a privileged elite that work between six to nine hours a week, eight months a year for an annual salary of about $150,000." Obviously, Horowitz should visit a few more universities—especially the growing number of for-profit and on-line institutions, community colleges and state schools in urban settings. Here most of the teaching is off the tenure track, performed by underpaid adjuncts with as much job security as employees at McDonald's. As future state cuts are made by the very same GOP legislatures considering passage of academic bills of rights, this trend only promises to become worse.

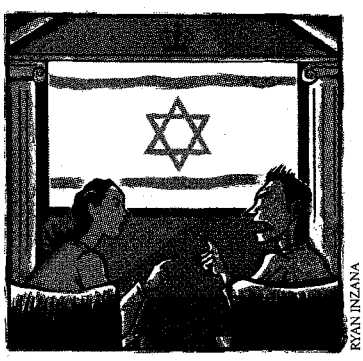
The battle against the academic bill of rights—and the even more important struggle to insure more funding for education in the future—will be an uphill one. The right is hungry for war; it might not have "lengthy arguments," but it has a well-honed arsenal of ideas and infrastructure ready for action. It has zeal and couldn't care less about the fragility of higher-education institutions it attacks. That's why it's important for liberals to wage a counterbattle. If they don't, we might find politicians visiting college classrooms, sniffing out card-carrying communists, euphemistic or otherwise. Nothing could be worse for higher education or democracy. ■

THE CURRENT BATTLE IS THE LATEST IN A LARGER, IDEOLOGICALLY DRIVEN CONFLICT.

The Mideast Comes to Columbia

SCOTT SHERMAN

In December 2003 Rabbi Charles Sheer, the director of the Columbia/Barnard chapter of Hillel, the Jewish campus organization, dispatched an e-bulletin to alumni, students and supporters. There was much to report: In 2002 a movement of students and professors had urged Columbia to divest from companies that manufactured and sold weaponry to Israel. In the end, Rabbi Sheer had vanquished the prodivestment forces with a well-executed campaign that garnered 33,000 signatures. "There have not been any major divestment campaigns on any US campus, and almost no anti-Israel student-initiated activity—speakers, films or demonstrations—on our campus," Sheer noted with pride. "That's the good news." The bad news? "The battleground regarding the Middle East at Columbia University has shifted to the classroom."



RYAN INZANA

Scott Sherman is a Nation *contributing writer. He wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Liel Leibovitz of* The Jewish Week. *Fatin Abbas provided research for this article.*

Rabbi Sheer was mainly referring to classrooms in a single department—Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC)—and he hinted that a counterstrike against MEALAC was in the making: "A student group," he wrote, "is currently working on a video that records how intimidated students feel by advocacy teaching...."

Ten months later the *New York Sun*, a small but influential conservative daily, broke the story of the video Sheer was referring to. The film, the *Sun* noted, "consists of interviews with several students who contend that they have felt threatened academically for expressing a pro-Israel point of view in classrooms." Titled *Columbia Unbecoming*, the film was produced by the David Project, a shadowy, Boston-based group that has ties to the Israel on Campus Coalition, an organization whose members include the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the American Jewish Committee.

Over the next five months the *Sun* ran dozens of rough-edged

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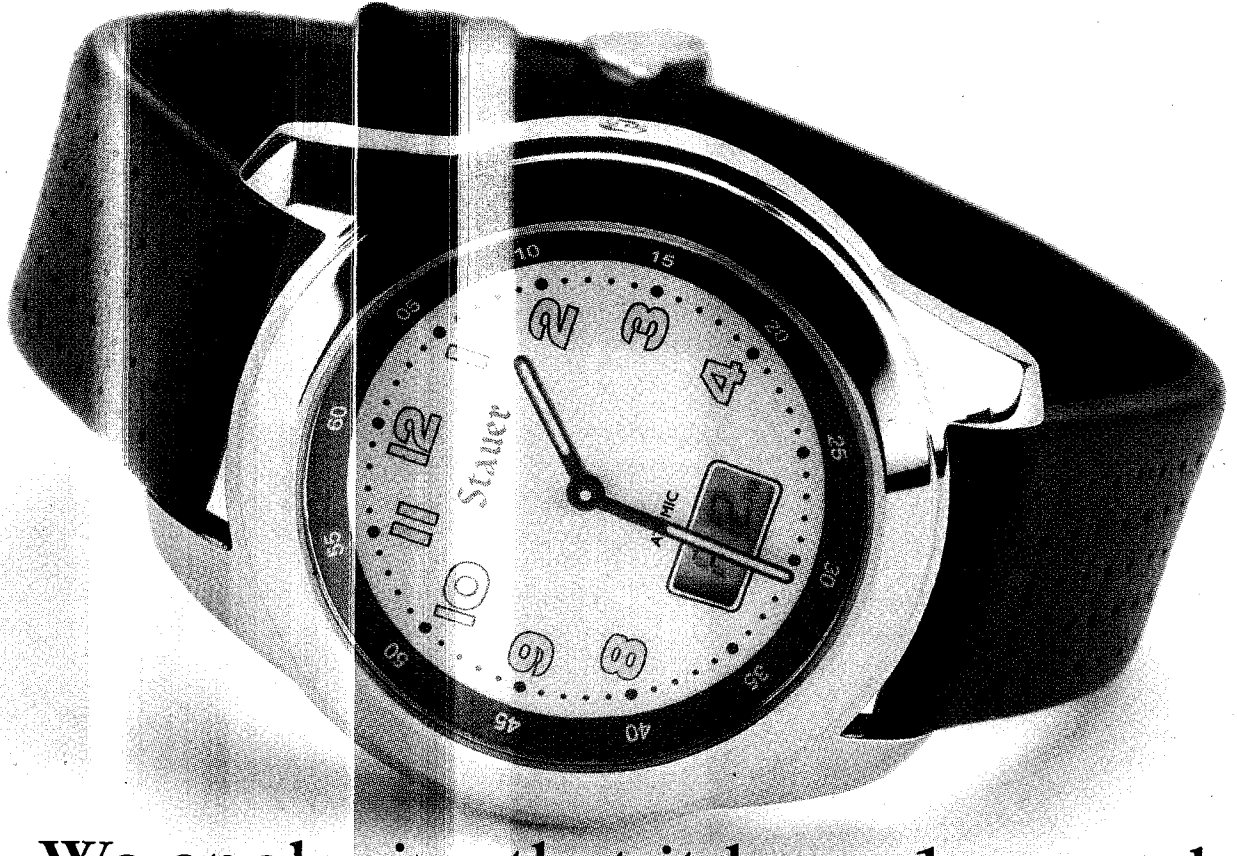

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stories about developments pertaining to the film, many of which appeared under the tagline "Crisis at Columbia." The paper also hammered the university in a series of editorials: "The Education Department recently indicated it will expand its enforcement activities in respect of campus anti-semitism," the *Sun* averred on November 19. "Our reporting suggests that eventually federal authorities will have to get involved at Columbia." Other local papers echoed the *Sun*'s reporting. On November 21 the *Daily News* published a "special report" headlined "Poison Ivy: Climate of Hate Rocks Columbia University," in which the paper proclaimed, "Dozens of academics are said to be promoting an I-hate-Israel agenda, embracing the ugliest of Arab propaganda, and teaching that Zionism is the root of all evil in the Mideast." Similar sentiments appeared on the editorial pages of the *New York Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*, in the *Village Voice* (under the byline of Nat Hentoff) and on Fox News.

Local politicians, too, rushed into the fray: In late October US Representative Anthony Weiner, a Democrat who is running for mayor, wrote to Columbia president Lee Bollinger, demanding that he fire Joseph Massad, one of the professors assailed in the film, for "his displays of anti-Semitism."

'It is a crazy, crazy exaggeration to claim that Jews are under attack at Columbia or that the faculty is anti-Semitic.' —Prof. Robert Pollack

The MEALAC professors singled out by *Columbia Unbecoming*—Joseph Massad, Hamid Dabashi and George Saliba—did not cower before the allegations. "This witch-hunt," Massad declared in a furious riposte, "aims to stifle pluralism, academic freedom, and the freedom of expression on university campuses in order to ensure that only *one* opinion is permitted, that of uncritical support for the state of Israel."

Dabashi, for his part, greeted the controversy with a mixture of indignation and melancholy. He was born in Iran, and has lived in the United States since 1976. "This is not the face of the United States that I can any longer recognize," Dabashi said recently. "This is not the country to which I immigrated and chose to call home more than a quarter of a century ago—a place where my political heroes lived, people I grew up admiring: Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Herman Melville, Ralph Ellison, Rosa Parks, Stanley Kubrick, Ella Fitzgerald. How in such a short time could the face of a nation and the promise of its hopes change so radically, so unrecognizably?"

The current battle at Columbia is the latest salvo in a larger, post-9/11 conflict concerning Middle East studies on campus. In late 2003 the House of Representatives passed HR 3077. The bill, which languished in a Senate committee, mandated that area studies programs that receive federal funding under Title VI of the Higher Education Act must "foster debate on American foreign policy from diverse perspectives." HR 3077 sent a chill through many scholars of the Middle East. "This bill represented an unprecedented degree of intrusion by the federal government into what goes on in our classrooms and in our universities," says Zachary Lockman, chair of the department of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at New York University.

An intellectual architect of HR 3077 was Martin Kramer, who, along with Daniel Pipes, has taken it upon himself to police and patrol the discipline of Middle East studies. Kramer is the author of *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (2001), a senior associate of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University and an indefatigable polemicist and critic. Since *Columbia Unbecoming* was first screened this past October, Kramer has been especially vituperative in his attacks on Massad, MEALAC and even president Bollinger. (In late January Kramer averred that Columbia's president "should have to jump through a hundred more hoops" before the MEALAC matter can be settled.) Pipes runs his own think tank, the Middle East Forum, which in 2002 launched Campus Watch, whose mission is to critique and harass liberal and progressive scholars of the Arab world [see Eyal Press, "Neocon Man," May 10, 2004]. The current developments at Columbia are deeply satisfying to Kramer and Pipes: A few months ago *Harvard Magazine* asked Pipes to delineate Campus Watch's recent accomplishments, and he replied, "Pressuring Columbia University to the point that the president has organized a committee [to investigate] political intimidation in the classroom."

The creation of that committee, which consists of five Columbia faculty members, would not have occurred without *Columbia Unbecoming*. But one can't easily speak of "the film," since a number of different versions exist. Columbia students close to the debate maintain there are at least six versions. The film has never been released to the public, but it has been selectively screened for Columbia administrators, trustees, students and journalists. This magazine requested a copy from the David Project and was repeatedly rebuffed. I finally saw one version of the film in its entirety at a packed campus screening in late January. What's clear is that *Columbia Unbecoming* is a propaganda film: one that portrays Jewish students as "silenced" by professors who "criticize Israel and...question its legitimacy"; in which vague and anonymous accusations are tossed about by students whose faces are sometimes blurred and whose voices are sometimes masked; which deliberately conflates what instructors say in the classroom with what they publish and do outside the classroom; and which attributes sinister motives to Columbia administrators and faculty, not one of whom is given the opportunity to respond to the allegations.

Columbia Unbecoming is a source of anguish and embarrassment to some prominent members of the university's Jewish community. Robert Pollack is a professor of biological sciences, a former dean of the university's Columbia College and a man who was instrumental in raising $13 million for the construction of the Kraft Center, a six-story building that is now the permanent home of Columbia's Jewish community. (Much of *Columbia Unbecoming* was shot in the Kraft Center.) "This building is a gift of the American Jewish community in its fullest happiness," says Pollack. "One must wonder: Why would a video like this be made in a building like that?" Pollack is no great admirer of MEALAC, and he clashed with Columbia's Edward Said over the Israel-Palestine conflict, but he has no patience for the view that the university is hostile to Jewish students: "It is a crazy, crazy exaggeration to claim that Jews are under attack at Colum-

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bia or that the faculty is anti-Semitic." And he is caustic about *Columbia Unbecoming*: "No one has seen the video," says Pollack. "There is no video to see. There's a cloud of videos constantly changing. It's innuendo and gossip."

Nevertheless, *Columbia Unbecoming* does lodge a specific set of allegations against MEALAC in general and Saliba, Dabashi and Massad in particular—allegations that have traveled far and wide, including to Israel, where the film has been screened.

George Saliba, a professor of Arabic and Islamic sciences, has taught at Columbia since 1978. In the film a student describes a heated discussion with Saliba outside of class about the Israel-Palestine conflict. She claims he said: "You have no voice in this debate...you have green eyes...you're not a Semite...I'm a Semite...I have brown eyes. You have no claim to the land of Israel." In late October Saliba obtained a transcript of the film from the *New York Sun* and dispatched a statement to the *Columbia Spectator*, the campus newspaper. "The statements that she attributes to me in the transcript, marked between quotations, are blatantly false," Saliba wrote, "and I can say in good conscience, and categorically, that I would not have used such phrases." (Saliba also noted that the student received a very respectable grade for the class. Indeed, none of the students in the film have charged that their grades have suffered because of their political views.)

In its treatment of Hamid Dabashi, the David Project has neglected his academic scholarship on Iranian cinema, culture and politics. Instead, the film leans heavily on a single passage lifted from a recent essay he wrote for the Egyptian publication *Al-Ahram*, titled "For a Fistful of Dust: A Passage to Palestine." The following words from the essay appear in the film: "Half a century of systematic maiming and murdering of another people has left...its deep marks on the faces of the Israeli Jews, the way they talk, walk, the way they greet each other.... There is a vulgarity of character that is bone-deep and structural to the skeletal vertebrae of its culture."

Dabashi correctly insists that the David Project mangled the quote—inserting the phrase "Israeli Jews" where he had "these people"—and took the entire passage out of context. (The context was his description of a five-hour ordeal in Ben Gurion Airport, during which time Dabashi was searched and detained by Israeli security officials.) "The phrase 'Israeli Jews' never ever appears in that entire essay. That is not my vocabulary," he says. "I was referring to citizens of a militarized state, both its victims and its victimizers. I could have written that passage about Americans in Iraq or Janjaweed in Darfur." Maybe so, but Dabashi misses the point. What's troubling about the passage is its sweeping characterization of an entire people—"Israeli Jews" or not—as vulgar and domineering in their very essence. The passage can easily be construed as anti-Semitic. Dabashi, at a minimum, is guilty of shrill and careless writing. In panning for gold, his critics discovered a precious nugget, one that he would do well to disown.

Dabashi, however, sees himself as a victim—of Campus Watch, of the David Project, of American xenophobia and nativism. In June 2002 Daniel Pipes co-wrote a piece in the *New York Post* titled "Extremists on Campus," which lashed Massad and

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Dabashi. Returning to New York from a trip to Japan, Dabashi says, he found his voice mail overflowing with bile: "Hey, Mr. Dabashi," said one caller. "I read about you in today's *New York Post*. You stinking, terrorist Muslim pig."

Finally, there is the case against Joseph Massad, whom the film calls "one of the most dangerous intellectuals" on campus. One senses that he is the real target of Columbia's internal and external critics. Massad, a Palestinian, earned his doctorate in political science from Columbia, where he developed a close relationship with Edward Said. In 1999 Massad was given an assistant professorship in MEALAC, and he is up for tenure in two years. (His scholarly output would seem to make him a viable candidate: Massad's first book, on Jordanian national identity, was published by Columbia University Press. His second, *Desiring Arabs*, is forthcoming from Harvard.)

Even Deena Shanker, who claims Massad told her to leave his class, says that for the most part MEALAC is 'a really wonderful department.'

For Pipes & Co., Massad is something of a gift: He is strident, dogmatic, proud, deliberately provocative and utterly uncompromising in his defense of the Palestinian struggle. He is a man who traffics in absolutes, a man who often infuriates even those who are sympathetic to his views. Said worried about his young friend's propensity for careless rhetoric—a point that Massad himself acknowledged in his *Al-Ahram* obituary of Said: "He would caution (actually yell at) me against giving way to my 'youthful' enthusiasm in a world in which we have few friends and numerous enemies." Massad is a ferocious critic of Israel and Zionism, but he is also withering on the subject of the PLO and the Palestinian Authority. (He supports a single, binational state.) To his detractors he is a devil figure, a "dangerous intellectual." Massad frequently acts out the role by unleashing a steady stream of inflammatory anti-Zionist rhetoric: "racist Jewish state" is a locution he constantly employs.

Columbia Unbecoming lodges two main accusations against Massad. The first concerns an alleged exchange that took place with a Jewish student, Tomy Schoenfeld, at an off-campus lecture that Massad delivered in 2002. Schoenfeld says he raised his hand and tried to question Massad, who, upon learning that he had served in the Israeli military, shot back, "How many Palestinians have you killed?" Massad denies the allegation: "Tomy Schoenfeld was never my student. I have never met him in any setting."

The second allegation concerns an incident that took place in April 2002, at the time of an Israeli assault on the Jenin refugee camp, in Massad's Palestinian-Israeli Politics & Societies class. A Barnard student, Deena Shanker—who does not appear in the film; her story is told by someone else—claims that in an acrimonious classroom discussion, she told Massad that Israel provides civilians with advance warning of impending attacks. She says he erupted with these words: "If you're going to deny the atrocities being committed against the Palestinian people then you can get out of my classroom!" Massad denies this charge as well. As he told the *Jerusalem Post* on December 24, "I have never asked and would never ask any of my students to leave my class no matter what their comments and questions were." Shanker stands by her account, and cites two corroborating witnesses, only one of whom was officially registered in the class that semester, though both were in the room that day. Massad has insisted that his classes include unregistered individuals and auditors who he believes are there to heckle him and monitor his teaching.

Nader Uthman, a MEALAC and Center for Comparative Literature & Society doctoral student who was Massad's teaching assistant that semester, says, "In Massad's class, the most prolific contributors to class discussion were students who disagreed with him, and many did not hesitate to interrupt him to make their point." Did Massad, on the tumultuous day in question, threaten to kick Shanker out of the room? Says Uthman, "To my recollection that never happened." Benjamin Bishop, who was present as a grad student that day, reinforces that view. "I have serious doubts about the allegation that Massad told a student to leave the class," says Bishop. "I don't have any memory of that."

Of all the allegations in the film, Shanker's is the most serious; threatening to throw a student out of class would certainly be a violation of professional ethics. The facts concerning what happened that day are murky, but the following can be discerned: On one side was a Palestinian professor who is an unyielding critic of the Israeli government. On the other was a Jewish student who, with Jenin in ruins, mounted an unapologetic defense of the Israeli military with facts she says she heard on CNN. If the faculty committee determines that Shanker's account is correct, Massad's transgression, though certainly reprehensible, would hardly justify the overriding thesis of *Columbia Unbecoming*: that pro-Israel students are systematically silenced by professors in MEALAC. Shanker herself insists that MEALAC is "a really wonderful department, for the most part." She believes that Columbia's Jewish community is too religious, and she has come to value MEALAC's secularism. "I definitely feel safer in the MEALAC department as a Jew than I do at a religious Columbia Jewish event," she says.

The roots of the Columbia conflict can be traced back to campus political developments in 2001 and early 2002. In March 2002 a network of national Jewish organizations met to evaluate what they saw as an alarming rise in anti-Israel activity on campus. From those meetings emerged the Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC), which is a partnership of Hillel and the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation. (The three organizations share a building in Washington.) According to a 2002 article for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, a Jewish-oriented news service, top-flight talent was brought in to advise the ICC and assemble a battle plan. "Pro-Israel professionals from the elite consulting firm McKinsey & Company offered pro-bono services," the article noted. Those professionals created a document for the ICC arguing that "the primary goal for this year should be to 'take back the campus' by influencing public opinion through lectures, the Internet and coalitions." The ICC—which recently received a $1,050,000 grant from the Schusterman Foundation, and whose speakers list includes Daniel Pipes—has an impressive array of "members": AIPAC, ADL, Americans for Peace Now and the Zionist Organization of America, among others.

The ICC has a single "affiliate member": the David Project.

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The David Project is led by Charles Jacobs, who is a co-founder of CAMERA, the pro-Israel media watchdog group; the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Group, which calls itself "America's leading human rights group dedicated to abolishing modern day slavery worldwide"; and, along with Richard Perle, Charles Krauthammer and Bill Kristol, among others, a member of the board of advisers of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. The ICC's website lists a number of "regional ICCs" that receive "strategic advice and guidance" from the Washington headquarters. The regional ICC representative in New York is none other than Rachel Fish, the director of the David Project's New York office. Jacobs was tight-lipped in a recent interview: He refused to provide details about his financial backers, referring only to unnamed "individuals and foundations"; and he declined to elaborate on the extent to which the David Project receives tactical advice from professional pro-Israel lobbyists and operatives allied with the ICC.

Columbia president Lee Bollinger has not spoken in a clear and decisive voice to the general public, or even to his own community.

What can easily be determined is that in October 2003, the David Project met with Columbia students and agreed to provide funding for a film that would give voice to their complaints. Rabbi Sheer, who ran Columbia's Kraft Center, gave his blessing: Sheer was already a fierce critic of MEALAC, having collided, over the previous two years, with both Dabashi and Saliba.

In April 2002 Dabashi and several other professors spoke at a campus demonstration against the Israeli incursions into the occupied territories. Rabbi Sheer was upset by the event—the speeches, he later noted, were "sadly reminiscent of the kind of speech one hears on Arab TV"—and complained to administrators about it. He also contacted Dabashi and requested the text of his remarks at the teach-in. Dabashi felt these actions were unnecessarily intrusive, coming as they did from a campus religious official, and thrashed the rabbi in an essay for the *Columbia Spectator*. (Saliba, in a separate letter to the paper, was also blunt: "Rabbi! Just preach! Do not even attempt to teach!") Nine months later Dabashi organized a Palestinian film festival on campus, which again brought him into conflict with Sheer. Sheer left Columbia in 2004; Hillel sources insist that his departure had nothing to do with his support for the film. But Sheer evidently decided to bow out in pugilistic fashion: He has a starring role in the latest version of *Columbia Unbecoming*—a film, he now notes with regret in his voice, that has harmed Columbia's reputation. Says Dabashi: "This film is his revenge on Columbia, and of course on MEALAC"—an opinion Sheer describes as "ludicrous."

Since Sheer's departure, the anti-MEALAC campaign has been energetically waged by a small group of undergraduates clustered around a charismatic 25-year-old student politician with shoulder-length hair named Ariel Beery, who is a veteran of the Israel Defense Forces. But other students have risen to MEALAC's defense. One undergraduate, Eric Posner, who is also a former IDF member, collected pro-MEALAC testimony from twenty or so majors and gave the material to the investigating committee established by Columbia president Bollinger. One student said of Massad: "He always made clear the distinctions between Zionism and Judaism and was unrelenting in his criticism of anti-Semitism and anti-Semites." Another student said of Dabashi: "He told me that he wasn't even reading the accusations about him because he didn't want to know which of his students might be talking about him or what they might be saying, for fear of being unable to treat them fairly."

In July 2000 Edward Said, in a symbolic act of resistance, hurled a stone near the Lebanon-Israel border, an act that infuriated his detractors and led to calls for his dismissal from Columbia. In response, the then-provost of Columbia, Jonathan Cole, with the authorization of president George Rupp, issued a statement in defense of Said: "If we are to deny Professor Said the protection to write and speak freely, whose speech will next be suppressed and who will be the inquisitor who determines who should have a right to speak his or her mind without fear of retribution?" With that statement, many at Columbia believe, Cole honored himself and the best traditions of the university. "I felt it was important to defend Edward as soon as possible so that our position was clear and could not be misinterpreted," Cole said recently. "Some on the outside did not like my statement, others applauded it, but it was, I believe, clear and unequivocal."

Today, many Columbia faculty members believe that on the question of academic freedom, Lee Bollinger, one of the country's pre-eminent scholars of the First Amendment and a man with a reputation as a liberal, has been rather less than clear and unequivocal. Bollinger did issue a press release on October 22 affirming that Columbia is "fully committed to upholding academic integrity and freedom of expression" and that the university "will not penalize faculty for statements made in public debate." At the same time, however, Bollinger insisted that "academic freedom is not unlimited. It does not...extend to protecting behavior in the classroom that threatens or intimidates students for expressing their viewpoints or that uses the classroom as a means of political indoctrination." In a recent interview, Bollinger came across as a beleaguered politician trying to locate and occupy the middle ground. "We *must* protect students," he said, "just as we *must* protect faculty. We must live by our principles."

Yet Bollinger has not spoken in a clear and decisive voice to the general public, or even to his own community. He did not respond publicly to Representative Weiner's demand that Massad be fired; he seems unwilling to offer even a perfunctory defense of the MEALAC department; and he failed to confront and contest a torrent of tendentious information from four New York newspapers. The David Project and its supporters have orchestrated a media barrage of sustained intensity against Columbia. By not responding forcefully to that barrage, Bollinger has conveyed the impression that his institution is not equipped to handle the allegations, and that his faculty are fair game for partisan attacks.

"Columbia's response has been a disaster," says Robert Pollack. "People across the boundaries of all disagreement on Middle East issues agree that we don't understand the silence." The administration "made a mistake in adopting an agnostic posture at the outset, in using the word 'investigate,'" says Columbia

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political scientist Andrew Nathan. "They should have said: 'We have confidence in our faculty governance procedures. Deans and faculty committees regularly review the quality of faculty, curriculum, courses and teaching. We will protect them from outside pressure so they can do their job.'"

Those observing the controversy from outside Columbia are also perplexed by Bollinger's behavior. "I really think Lee Bollinger has damaged every academic in the United States by his refusal to articulate a view on academic freedom," says Stanley Katz, an expert on higher education at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School. "I don't know how to construe his unwillingness to speak out, except to say that either he's afraid to, or that he does not support academic freedom. I find both alternatives disappointing and unpleasant."

It is widely assumed at Columbia that Bollinger is under considerable pressure from pro-Israel alumni, whose ire could complicate his fundraising goals, and that his caution is connected to political imperatives having to do with Columbia's planned expansion into West Harlem—a $5 billion, thirty-year project on which Bollinger has staked much of his legacy. Bollinger is not eager to discuss these political imperatives, and he is currently awaiting the report of his faculty committee (whose members are maligned in the latest version of *Columbia Unbecoming*, partially on the grounds that two of them signed the 2002 divestment petition).

But the report, which is expected in late March, is unlikely to end the imbroglio. The coalition arrayed against Columbia seems increasingly confident and well organized. It has begun to campaign for an external body to investigate the charges, and has enlisted Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz and *Village Voice* journalist Nat Hentoff in that cause. Daniel Pipes and Martin Kramer can barely contain their satisfaction: In televised remarks to his Columbia supporters on March 6, Kramer noted that the MEALAC controversy could mark "a turning point" in the ongoing campus ideological war over Middle East studies.

There are signs, however, that Columbia's president is beginning to rouse himself: In late February Bollinger sent a powerful letter of protest on behalf of one of his top Middle East scholars, Rashid Khalidi, who was recently dismissed from a teacher-training program run by the New York City Department of Education on the grounds that he had made "past statements" critical of Israel. But Bollinger needs to go much further in confronting his critics. Asked about Martin Kramer's assertion that he should have to jump through "a hundred more hoops," Bollinger replied, "I have no doubt that some of the attacks on Columbia are ill motivated, and I have no respect for the purposes they are trying to achieve." If Bollinger indeed feels that way, he should speak in a much louder voice about why the attacks on his institution are ill motivated; who precisely is behind those attacks; and what are the larger "purposes" those critics are trying to achieve. Five years ago, George Rupp and Jonathan Cole defended Columbia in a most eloquent and capable manner. Bollinger has yet to pass that test. Meanwhile, we haven't heard the last of the David Project: The group has announced that it will produce other films about other campuses. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

These developments have no parallel in the United States.

Judt further argues that Israel is responsible for the upsurge in anti-Semitism in Europe, on the grounds that European Muslims' anger at Israeli policies explains the recent rise in expressions of anti-Semitism. But this is not an explanation. Many people around the world dislike particular foreign governments, but they do not invariably react with hatred and violence against ethnically similar people in their own country. Following Judt's reasoning, we should expect to see an outbreak of anti-Arab hate propaganda and violence among African-Americans as they learn of the horrific atrocities being committed by the Arab government of Sudan against the black population of Darfur. Yet this is not happening. In other words, Judt ignores the elements of mobilization and institutionalization that have made possible a discourse of anti-Semitism among many European Muslims. Anti-Semitism on this scale does not simply come into being automatically. It has to be nurtured by particular institutions.

Finally, Judt overlooks the problems of social exclusion and unemployment among European Muslim communities. Given European Muslims' well-known frustrations with their lives in Europe, it seems reasonable to ask, as Judt does not, whether Jews are being turned into scapegoats by unscrupulous people within the Muslim community. If so, the fault does not lie with Israel. Israel is not responsible for failures of social policy in Europe. MATTHEW LIGHT

JUDT REPLIES

New York City

■ Alvin Orloff is right: There are indeed some in Europe who have seized the opportunity to criticize Israel with selective alacrity. But his conflation of the widespread condemnation of Israeli brutalities with a tiny minority of zealots who seek to ban Israeli scholars is mischievously misleading—the overwhelming majority of Israel's European critics propose no such thing. And many of them are engaged in international organizations that are at least as active in publicizing other instances of rights abuse.

If Israel is a particular object of international attention, this is in part because its representatives insistently remind us that their country is the only democracy in the Middle East. This rather complacent self-image invites close attention to Israeli practices. Yes, Russia has done terrible things in Chechnya and there may be worse to come. Yes, the Sudanese government is committing genocidal atrocities in Darfur. But Sudan is not a democracy and nor, regrettably, is Russia. Democracies don't break international law. Democracies don't build walls across other people's land. Democracies don't use helicopter gunships to blow up residential districts. Democracies don't impose collective punishments on families. And so on. If Israel insists that it is a fully paid-up member of the international club of advanced liberal democracies, it can hardly complain when it is held to more demanding standards of behavior than Sudan.

Matthew Light is correct to remind us of the growing anti-Semitism in Europe's Muslim communities. And yes, there has been mobilization and exploitation of this sentiment in the Arab media. But whatever the very real failures of European social policy with regard to ethnic minorities, if Light really thinks that Arab and Muslim anger has nothing to do with Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, then I can only conclude that he inhabits a parallel universe: one in which a self-described Jewish state, whose leaders obsessively repeat their claim to speak and act for "all the Jews," can do as it wishes without bearing any responsibility for the way people think about...Jews. The insouciant ease with which people like Light relieve Israel of any and all responsibility for the consequences of its actions only serves to confirm Laurel Federbush's depressing and timely remarks. TONY JUDT

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Finding Neverland

JODY ROSEN

MICHAEL JACKSON: THE ULTIMATE COLLECTION

At this writing, the first prosecution witnesses have begun testimony in the case of *People v. Michael Joe Jackson*. Upwards of 1,000 members of the press have converged on the Santa Barbara County Courthouse in Santa Maria to cover this latest Trial of the Century, many of them having made the breezy trip down the coast from Redwood City, where, this past December, Scott Peterson was convicted of the murder of his pregnant wife, Laci. In an act of infinite jurisprudential wisdom, Judge Rodney Melville banned all cameras from the Jackson trial, sparing the world a rerun of the O.J. Simpson case; but the E! Entertainment Television cable network swiftly stepped into the breach, announcing it would produce nightly re-enactments of the courtroom proceedings. The leading man in this teleplay is Edward Moss, a professional Michael Jackson impersonator, whose previous turns as the singer in Lake Tahoe casino tribute concerts, *Scary Movie 3* and *Mad TV* presumably have equipped him to portray the 46-year-old singer as he faces multiple felony counts, and up to twenty years in prison, for allegedly molesting a 13-year-old cancer-stricken boy.

The charges are horrifying, and whether or not Jackson is found guilty, the sordid details that have already emerged are sure to devastate what little is left of his reputation. The most striking aspect of the trial's media coverage, however, is the apparently widespread amnesia about the man accused. While Jackson has been a one-man circus for decades now, it's not just his bizarre behavior—the tales of Bubbles the pet chimpanzee, of nights spent in hyperbaric chambers, of infant children dangled from hotel balconies—that has made him fascinating, but the fact that it co-exists with an equally freakish—a divinely freakish—talent. But Jackson has hit the *Billboard* singles chart only twice in the past decade, and the media seem to have forgotten what made him famous in the first place, rather brutally lumping him in with O.J., Robert Blake and other C-list celebrity defendants. Indeed, a whole record-buying generation has grown up with only the faintest knowledge of Jackson's musical genius, knowing him mainly as plastic-surgery victim and accused pedophile; in short, as the world's most famous reality-TV nutcase.

And yet, young pop fans do know Jackson's music, if only secondhand. Today's hit radio is more conspicuously Jacksonesque than at any time since the late 1980s. The speedy, dramatically syncopated vocal style that Jackson perfected in songs like "Smooth Criminal" (1987) and "Jam" (1991) has transformed the art of soul singing; from Beyoncé to R. Kelly, today's preeminent r&b vocalists are audibly Jackson's followers. Meanwhile, the world's two biggest male pop idols, Usher and Justin Timberlake, are even more flagrantly in Jackson's debt—imitating his falsetto, borrowing his dance moves, injecting their songs with the flashes of paranoia and desperation that gave Jackson's discothèque anthems psychological depth. No listener to Usher's "Yeah!" or Timberlake's "Rock Your Body"—whose title conflates two of Jackson's signature songs, "Shake Your Body (Down to the Ground)" and "Rock With You"—can fail to detect his abiding influence.

Before the surgical makeover, the descent into freakdom and the indictment, Jackson made music that changed the face of pop.

But even the most accomplished mimicry pales beside the real thing, a fact reaffirmed by the arrival this winter of *Michael Jackson: The Ultimate Collection*, a sprawling new boxed set. The four-disc, fifty-seven-track package, complete with a bonus 1992 concert DVD,

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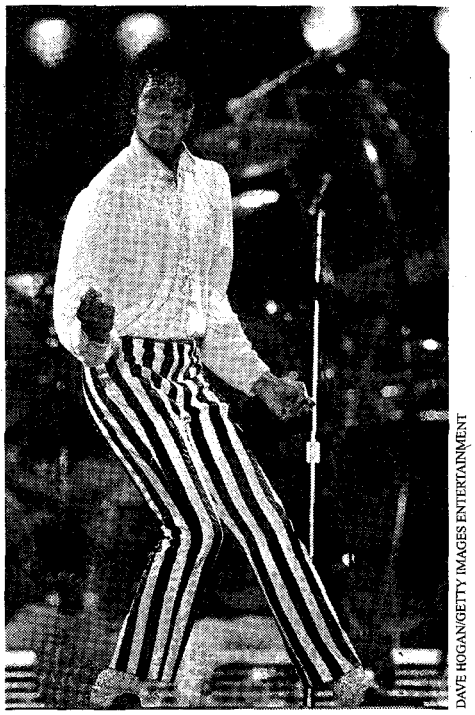
showed up in record stores shortly before Jackson's trial, and you can't help but connect the two events. Cynics may imagine that Jackson, who has released two major greatest hits discs in the past four years and is reportedly in grave financial straits, scrambled together the compilation (retail price: $59.98) to help defray legal expenses. (Certainly, little care went into the design of the thing, which resembles one of those cheap boxes of chocolates sold at duty-free shops.) I suspect a different motive: legacy management—an attempt, in this season of lurid revelations, to remind us that whatever else Jackson is, he is an artist. On that count, *Michael Jackson: The Ultimate Collection* has arrived not a moment too soon.

It begins in the obvious place, with the Jackson 5 hits that introduced the world to a preposterously talented boy-singer. Legend has it that Jackson's vocal ability emerged when he was still in diapers; by age 6, he was performing onstage with his older brothers, singing and stepping through tightly choreographed dance routines at talent shows in and around their hometown of Gary, Indiana. Today the Jacksons are so deeply associated with the showbiz slickness (and kookiness) of Southern California, it's easy to forget their hardscrabble Rust Belt roots. Joe Jackson, the family's stern patriarch, was a crane operator for U.S. Steel and a onetime guitarist for the Falcons, a Gary-based r&b band that never made it; he channeled his unrealized musical aspirations into his sons' efforts. By 1966 weekend station-wagon journeys were taking the group as far afield as Chicago, and eventually all the way to the Apollo Theater in Harlem, where they wowed the crowd at the famous Amateur Night talent contest. In 1968, after recording a couple of songs for a small Indiana-based independent label, the group won an audition with Motown president Berry Gordy Jr., who signed them on the spot, moving the entire Jackson clan from Gary to Los Angeles. Their debut album, *Diana Ross Presents the Jackson 5* (1969), was a classic product of the Motown music factory, but the grit of 11-year-old Michael's vocals is a reminder of the band's striving, chitlin-circuit roots—a sound of untrammeled ambition, even if it was more his father's than Michael's own.

The excitement of those early records can still rock you back with glee. "I Want You Back," the group's debut release, is one of the all-time great pop singles, a tribute in no small part to its songwriters, Berry Gordy, Freddie Perren, Fonce Mizell and Deke Richards (*a k a* "the Corporation"), and to its ingenious, bubbling bass line, but above all to young Michael. There have been many kiddie pop stars, but none—not even Jackson's Motown labelmate Stevie Wonder—have sung with such soul, subtlety and exuberance. Jackson had an amazingly supple tenor; listen to him sliding through a string of lovely blue notes in the final chorus of the hit ballad "I'll Be There" (1970). But it's the gruffness of that young voice, with its shades of Wilson Pickett, Levi Stubbs and other burly soul men, that surprises today: It's strange to hear Jackson as a little boy pretending to be a grown man, instead of the other way around.

The Jackson 5, of course, were a huge pop culture sensation, the first and definitive multimedia boy band. (We have Michael and his brothers to blame for New Kids on the Block and all the other tone-deaf, heavily moussed lads we've endured in the decades since.) The group's first four singles all went to No. 1, a *Billboard* milestone; stories of their high jinks filled the pages of *Tiger Beat* and other fanzines; and their media dominion soon extended to encompass lunchboxes, dolls and cartoon shows, a not insignificant accomplishment for a bunch of black teenagers in 1971. But for the youngest Jackson, success was a mixed blessing. Jackson lore is rife with stories of Michael sitting bewildered and alone in the midst of debauched hotel parties while his brothers romped with groupies. More than one armchair psychoanalyst has traced Jackson's weirdness and sexual confusion to his unusual formative years—notably, the singer himself, in his 1995 ballad "Childhood," one of the creepier pieces of schmaltz in the Jackson canon:



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Michael Jackson, 1983

> Have you seen my childhood?
> I'm searching for the world that I come from....
> No one understands me
> They view it as such strange eccentricities
> 'Cause I keep kidding around
> Like a child, but pardon me....
> It's been my fate to compensate
> For the childhood I've never known....
> Before you judge me, try hard to love me
> *The painful youth I've had*
> Have you seen my childhood?

Listening to "Childhood," which Jackson sings beautifully over grandiose strings, you might forget the grace with which he made the transition from childhood to young adulthood nearly three decades ago. There is a famous late-1970s photograph of Jackson breezing into Studio 54. Jackson would have been in his late teens or just 20, and he was the very picture of a disco-era prince: movie-star handsome, broad-shouldered, brown skin aglow, wearing a wide-collared shirt open at the chest and what I can only imagine was a Halston suit. It's a glimpse of what might have been; the young man in the photo seems well on his way to a life of wealth and indulgence and swanning around the VIP rooms of fabulous clubs—the normal unreality of pop stardom.

Indeed, the Jackson who emerged as a solo artist in the late 1970s was preternaturally sleek, charismatic and confident, a perfect superstar for the post-soul era. He was the first performer to assimilate disco, which had dominated the charts for a couple of years, into a wholly personal style, combining its sumptuous grooves with the songcraft and vocal expressiveness of classic soul. You can hear that style budding in "Shake Your Body (Down to the Ground)," the huge 1979 dance hit recorded with his brothers, and then bursting into flower on his solo breakthrough, *Off the Wall* (1979). The album was Jackson's first with producer Quincy Jones, and to many purists it's his best, an irresistible mix of suave soul, soft rock, pop and funk.

But it's Jackson's singing that propels *Off the Wall*. Here was the sound that would conquer the pop charts across the world: the limpid falsetto voice, strangely higher at age 21 than it was at 13, which could dip into a buttery midrange or explode into squeals, hiccups, grunts, "hee-hees" and other James Brown-on-helium exhortations. The album was a smash, the first by

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a solo artist to contain four Top 10 hits, including the definitive Jackson weeper, "She's Out of My Life," during which the singer dissolves in sobs—just a hint of the self-pity that would later permeate his songs. Overall, though, the mood of *Off the Wall* is joyous, as bright as the spangled socks that peek out from beneath Jackson's trouser cuffs on the gatefold cover. "So tonight gotta leave that nine to five up on the shelf/And just enjoy yourself," Jackson sings. He would never sound quite so untroubled again, and listening to the album is a bit like revisiting the early Beatles records, a delightful return to a seemingly simpler time and place.

And then came *Thriller* (1982). So much of the discussion of this remarkable record has centered on its commercial milestones—the 40 million albums sold in its initial chart run, its seven Top 10 hits, its pioneering role in desegregating MTV and commercial radio—and on the mythic, Elvis- and Beatles-caliber stardom to which Jackson ascended in its aftermath. But take away all of *Thriller*'s commercial and sociological import, banish for a moment the indelible video images and visions of Jackson's moonwalk glide, and what you are left with is one of the most exciting and rigorous pop records ever made. Its songs are expertly calibrated little machines; just listen to how the components of "Billie Jean"—the thumping backbeat and bass line, the spooky background vocals, the sour little trumpet figure that answers Jackson's vocal in the chorus, the string shivers, the stiff funk guitar strumming—come together to create an ideally eerie and austere sound. Scrutinize *Thriller*'s liner notes and you'll discover that "Billie Jean," like the album's other best songs—"Beat It," "Wanna Be Startin' Somethin'," "The Girl Is Mine"—was written and, for the most part, arranged by Jackson himself. The biggest pop star of the 1980s was also its leading *auteur*.

What is most striking about *Thriller*, nearly a quarter-century after its release, is the pall that hangs over it. Paternity suits, gang violence, horror movie dread, betrayals, paranoia, nervous breakdowns—these are the gentle themes treated on this record that everyone and his grandmother bought and danced to. "Wanna Be Startin' Somethin'" sounds for all the world like a party tune, but listen closer: "It's too high to get over/Too low to get under/You're stuck in the middle/And the pain is thunder/You're a vegetable/Still they hate you..../You're just a buffet/They eat off of you." It's quite a shift from the beatific mood of *Off the*

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ADAM HOCHSCHILD
Author of
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"A witty, wonderfully readable narrative... His descriptions of West Indian slavery will make you want to put down the book and shut your eyes in horror."
—*Entertainment Weekly*, A

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Wall, and the gloom never really lifted. Time and again, Jackson has returned to themes of violence, terror, repulsion, sexual anxiety, implacable sadness. Consider just a handful of song titles: "Bad," "Dangerous," "Dirty Diana," "Leave Me Alone," "Blood on the Dance Floor," "Scream," "In the Closet," "Cry," "The Lost Children," "Threatened." Few death-metal bands are so relentlessly grim.

The story of Jackson's post-*Thriller* career is usually narrated in terms of decline and fall, and how could it be otherwise? There was no topping *Thriller*, either commercially or artistically, and Jackson needn't have tried. But try he did, running through gargantuan budgets, swaddling his songs in layers of production sheen and generally pulling out all the stops in an attempt to outdo himself. It was apparently of little comfort to Jackson that *Bad* (1987), *Thriller*'s follow-up, was a great (but not epochal) album, or that it sold tens of millions of copies, and it's tempting to ascribe at least some of Jackson's wacky behavior to his frustration at these failed efforts. Certainly, there was a touch of desperation in megalomaniacal gestures like branding himself the King of Pop and issuing an album cover depicting an enormous Michael Jackson statue towering against a sky of roiling clouds, to say nothing of his penchant for Michael-as-messiah anthems ("We Are the World," "We Are Here to Change the World," "Heal the World," etc.). You can't help but wonder what Jackson might have become had he, like his onetime rival Prince, been content to burrow into his own artistic vision, with little concern for whether records wound up on the hit parade.

But even Jackson's misfires and overreaches are compelling. *The Ultimate Collection* is a well-selected anthology of past triumphs, but for those of us who have dismissed the singer's more recent releases after just a few listens, the boxed set holds surprises. The fourth disc is drawn almost entirely from *Blood on the Dance Floor* (1997) and *Invincible* (2001), Jackson's two biggest flops, and the music is terrific. It turns out that Jackson has dealt with hip-hop rather better than most singers of his generation. Beat- and sample-driven songs like "Blood on the Dance Floor" (1997) and "Unbreakable" (2001) sound contemporary but not desperately trendy, and his brutishly staccato singing works well in these more densely rhythmic settings. And Jackson's ballad singing has never sounded better. "Beautiful Girl," a previously unreleased demo recorded just last year, finds Jackson gliding over the sparsest synth and drum-machine accompaniment, and across octaves with an eeriness and finesse that recall Little Jimmy Scott. If he cared to, Jackson could be a jazz singer.

Such songs send you back to old albums with fresh ears and whet your appetite for future Jackson releases that may never come. Meanwhile, the courtroom circus drearily unfolds, and everyone—the media, certainly, and the lawyers, but above all the defendant himself, preening ridiculously for his fans outside the courthouse, flanked by Fruit of Islam bodyguards, and posting bizarre videotaped statements on his website—is conspiring to turn a hideous tragedy into just another reality-TV farce. Jackson's trial may drag on for months. His records will last longer. ■

Continental Drift

D.D. GUTTENPLAN

To an American, Europe is a cautionary tale. From Jefferson's warning that when we "get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall be as corrupt as Europe" to Madison's explanation that separation of church and state was the only way to avoid "the ceaseless strife that has soaked the soil of Europe with blood for centuries," the Founding Fathers used the Continent to signify everything our new nation was not. A century later the Gilded Age's yearning for cultural validation complicated matters, requiring a Henry James or an Edith Wharton to do justice to the shifting balance of social insecurity, moral superiority, confidence and naïveté. But even the most starry-eyed grand tourist knew they were traveling backwards in time. Well into the last century, Europe was the "old world," a fading catalogue of postcard views and primitive plumbing where Americans came to lose their innocence.

This was still true in 1977, when I first lived in Europe as a student. Parisian literary theory may have been avant-garde, but French public phones seldom functioned (and still required a *jeton*, a slotted token), hot showers were a luxury and the future, from architecture to music to technology, was Made in the USA. Italy and Spain seemed even more backward—vast gorgeous museums where you could look at art, eat and drink incomparably well and admire the past, but where the train stations were tiny islands of modernity. The Italian lira was in perpetual free fall—a Roman friend told me the chewing gum and candy I was usually given in lieu of small change was worth more than the coins—and Spain was just emerging from Franco's suffocating embrace. When I arrived in Madrid the Communist Party was still illegal; back in Paris the newly elected mayor was a right-wing Gaullist named Jacques Chirac. France's president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was also a conservative, as were the leaders of Italy and Germany—West Germany, that is. In England, where I came to study a few years later, all the Americans at my college were put in the same building—the only one with central heat. None of my student friends had cars or telephones, and the pay phones were even

D.D. Guttenplan, The Nation's London correspondent, is the author of The Holocaust on Trial *(Norton).*

BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY

FREE WORLD: America, Europe and the Surprising Future of the West.
By Timothy Garton Ash.
Random House. 286 pp. $24.95.

BEYOND PARADISE AND POWER: Europe, America, and the Future of a Troubled Partnership.
Edited by Tod Lindberg.
Routledge. 245 pp. Paper $18.95.

THE ACCIDENTAL AMERICAN: Tony Blair and the Presidency.
By James Naughtie.
PublicAffairs. 250 pp. $26.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy.
By T.R. Reid.
Penguin. 305 pp. $25.95.

THE EUROPEAN DREAM: How Europe's Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream.
By Jeremy Rifkin.
Tarcher/Penguin. 434 pp. $25.95.

THE NEW WORLD DISORDER.
By Tzvetan Todorov.
Polity. 88 pp. Paper $19.95.

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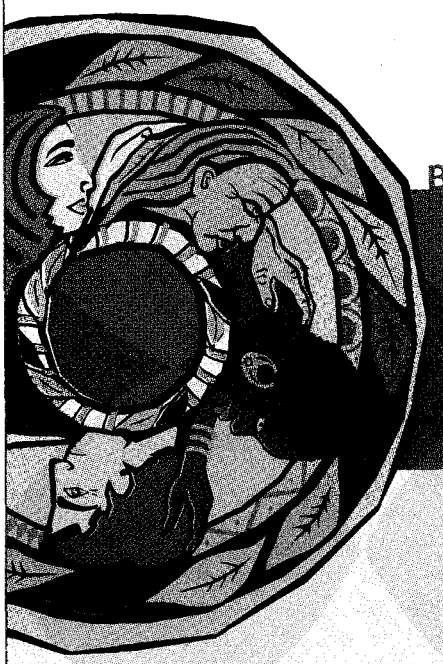
worse than in France. Public anger over the lack of heat—and electricity—for days at a time during a coal strike helped bring down Britain's Labour government and usher in Thatcherism, a genuine European innovation, if not a welcome one.

When did Europe's olde curiosity shoppe turn cutting edge? For Timothy Garton Ash the seminal event was the fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989. A British journalist who reported extensively on the rise of Solidarity and the collapse of the Soviet empire, Garton Ash has come a long way since the early 1980s, when he found the German Green Party's pacifism far more alarming than anything Ronald Reagan was up to. Garton Ash's unmitigated delight at the demise of "actually existing socialism" may be hard for some *Nation* readers to take, but his perception that the end of the cold war severed many of the ties that bound Europe so firmly to America is surely correct. (Longtime *Nation* readers may recall that E.P. Thompson predicted precisely such a drifting apart once European politics were allowed to thaw.)

Culturally the traffic across the Atlantic has been two-way for rather longer. Even in 1977, Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano's Centre Pompidou announced an architecture firmly rooted in European soil, one that no longer took America's post–World War II dominance for granted. Punk rock in Britain shared little more than a name with its American cousin; Barcelona reinvented its Ramblas without even a glance at Broadway. But as long as Soviet tanks faced west, Europe was obliged to huddle together under Uncle Sam's nuclear umbrella.

Europe today is an economic power, the largest internal market in history, whose Benetton-clad, Prada-shod citizens scarf Alpen Bars on the way to work, fill up their German, French and Italian cars with BP, Shell and Elf, read books published by Pearson/Penguin and Bertelsmann, and chat endlessly on Finnish-made Nokia phones over the British-owned Vodafone network. As do increasing numbers of Americans, mostly without noticing it. Such icons of everyday American life as Dunkin' Donuts, Bazooka gum, Dr Pepper, Brooks Brothers, Jiffy Lube and Household Finance are also now European owned. As are Jeeps (made by Germany's DaimlerChrysler) and even Baby Ruth bars! When my family and I moved from Brooklyn to London ten years ago, the standard of living was at least as high as in the United States—and that was just in Britain. On the Continent the trains not only ran on time but were faster, more



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frequent and far better appointed than anything on Amtrak's rails. Today, even in poorer countries like Greece and the Czech Republic, cell phones are ubiquitous, childcare is state-subsidized and supermarket and bookstore shelves alike are near occasions of sin. Fly from JFK to Milan, or Baltimore to Bilbao, and you are in little doubt which way the money goes.

Politically, though, Europe remained underdeveloped. Sheer complexity, an inevitable consequence of the six-member European Economic Community becoming first a twelve-member European Community and then a twenty-five-member European Union, was partly to blame. Garton Ash looks at Europe's cumbersome governmental structure and superfluous sovereignties and sees a "postmodern Commonwealth." As a native-born Virginian, I know a confederacy when I see one. Still, so long as Europeans were content to follow America's lead, nobody minded much. Henry Kissinger might complain, "If I want to pick up the phone and talk to Europe, whom do I call?" Bill Clinton might rail against European paralysis over Bosnia or resent EU fecklessness in Kosovo, but when America did decide to act, Europe was—for the most part—happy to follow. We did the cooking (bombing, bullying, coalition-building); they did the washing up (peacekeeping, nation-building, war crimes trials). It was a division of labor that functioned, or seemed to, until Iraq.

What made Iraq different was George W. Bush's evident disdain for the scutwork of multilateral diplomacy. What also set Iraq apart was the German and French refusal to fall in line. Differences with the French were déjà vu, but Germany? A country Americans had remade in our own image, and where there were still more than 70,000 American soldiers? Was this the end of the Atlantic alliance? Could this marriage be saved? From the Carnegie Endowment to Chatham House, an agreeable sense of crisis spread across the land.

First to weigh in was Robert Kagan, who in his 2003 polemic *Of Paradise and Power* declared, "It is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world." Americans, said Kagan, "are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus." Faced with military might, Europeans come over all girly not because they are more virtuous, Kagan explained, but because they are weak. Europeans fetishize the United Nations Security Council as "a substitute for the power they lack." How influential was Kagan? "*Of Paradise and Power* ranks with Frank Fukuyama's *The End of History* and Sam Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations*," Raymond Seitz, former US Ambassador to Great Britain, wrote in the *London Times*. He meant it as a compliment.

Kagan's thesis that Europe, though in terminal decline, was still worth a little buttering up has spawned its own cottage industry. The Hoover Institution's *Policy Review*, which first published Kagan's essay in abbreviated form, has just issued an entire volume of responses, *Beyond Paradise and Power*, edited by Tod Lindberg, the journal's editor. The spectrum of views is somewhat restricted, ranging from triumphalist to mildly skeptical of American power, but some interesting divisions do emerge. Walter Russell Mead, propagandist-in-chief for the "resistance is futile" school, argues that Europe's "cultural preference for a strong state" puts the Continent at a permanent disadvantage. "Although Americans have never consciously embraced Marx's philosophy," he writes, displaying a hitherto unsuspected talent for understatement, "they have come very close to embracing Marx's vision of capitalism as an irresistible, world-conquering force."

Since the end of the cold war, which severed many of the ties that bound it so firmly to America, Europe has come into its own.

Since America is destined to supersize its way to world supremacy, why bother with "old" Europe? "What will matter to the United States, in the foreseeable future, are allies who can help provide bases, flyover rights, peacekeeping troops, and possibly the odd specialized chemical weapons or special operations troops, not to mention moral, political, and intelligence support. These are things the Poles, Spaniards, and Italians can do as well as the Belgians, Luxemburgers, or even the Germans," writes Anne Applebaum, magnanimously pardoning Spain for joining the coalition of the unwilling.

Lindberg's Europeans are not so convinced of their own insignificance. Gilles Andréani of the French Foreign Ministry argues that a successful dominant power never relies on force alone. Instead it "tries to shape the international order, to influence international norms, and to surround its own dominance with legitimacy." The alternative, though Andréani is perhaps too polite to say so, is unfettered imperial paranoia. Wolfgang Ischinger, German Ambassador to the United States, makes a similar point by distinguishing a hegemonic power, which both sustains and is bound by the rules of an international order, from an imperial superpower, which "only plays by the rules when it suits its interests."And Kalypso Nicolaidis, a Franco-Hellenic contributor, dares to pose a question that, in this context, seems truly heretical: "What if Europe's story of peace building had more relevance to the rest of the world than the U.S. story of liberal imperialism? What if *not to be the superpower*—or even a superpower—was itself the key to Europe's international influence?"

Did such a thought ever occur to Tony Blair? "We are building a new world superpower," Blair told *Washington Post* reporter T.R. Reid. "The European Union is about the projection of collective power, wealth, and influence. That collective strength makes individual nations more powerful—and it will make the EU as a whole a global power." Of course, that was back in the days when Blair promised to put Britain "at the heart of Europe," before he decided it was more prudent to attach himself to a different portion of George W. Bush's anatomy. *The Accidental American*, James Naughtie's well-informed account of the Bush-Blair courtship, makes it clear that it was not 9/11 but Blair's own craving for power that drove him into Washington's arms. Having ruthlessly discarded the Labour Party's socialist principles as an obstacle to electoral success, Blair came to office as a French-speaking, Chianti-drinking Euro-modernizer. Unlike most well-off Britons of his generation, the Prime Minister had never even visited the United States, but in Bill Clinton's mercurial triangulations Blair recognized a fellow operator. What really hooked Blair on the perks of the "special relationship," though, was the campaign against Serbia's Milosevic. Clinton's willingness to back British rhetoric with American air power proved intoxicating. By the time Bush replaced Clinton, Blair's habit was out of control.

Naughtie suggests that Afghanistan was already in Blair's sights in February 2001, when Britain's Foreign Office was asked to report on "the Taliban regime, the extent of its violations of human rights, the scale of the heroin traffic that originated in Afghan poppy fields and led to the streets of British cities, and the threat from al Qaeda." According to Naughtie, "Blair even raised the prospect with Bush that they would find themselves at war in Afghanistan" in a con-

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versation in the spring of 2001—months before the attacks on the World Trade Center. Even more disturbing—and equally unremarked in the US press—is the revelation that American spying on UN Security Council delegates during the run-up to the war in Iraq was actually aimed at preventing a deal on a second resolution. In Naughtie's account Blair and Bush were equally committed to war. Blair just wanted a little more time. Bush, his eye firmly on the electoral calendar, said no. Bush got his war and, eventually, his electoral victory. Thanks to the feeble nature of the opposition, Blair is also likely to be returned to power later this year. Politically, however, Blair is a spent force, a gangrenous limb rotting away on the body politic, whose latest desperate distraction from the Iraq debacle—a bill in the name of the "war on terror" to legalize imprisonment without trial and impose South African–style banning orders—slid through the House of Commons, leaving it to the House of Lords, the archaic chamber Labour once promised to abolish, to defend British liberties. On March 11, a revised version passed the Lords as well, breaking a promise to British "freemen" that had stood since the Magna Carta.

With a new ice age gripping Britain and the United States, some see fairer skies over mainland Europe. Jeremy Rifkin's *The European Dream* is a veritable celebration of "community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation, quality of life over the accumulation of wealth, sustainable development over unlimited material growth, deep play over unrelenting toil"—you get the idea. This is a truly dreadful book, which is too bad, since Rifkin's heart obviously beats on the left side of his chest. Badly written to the point of self-parody—"We became existential nomads, wandering through a boundaryless world full of inchoate longings in a desperate search for something to be attached to and believe in"—it is also very uninformed.

To Rifkin, his own country is a coercive melting pot; "the European Dream, by contrast, is based on preserving one's cultural identity and living in a multicultural world." Try telling that to a Muslim schoolgirl or an Orthodox Jewish teacher in France, forced to uncover their heads. Rifkin's Eurotopia of prosperous farmers, protected workers and environmental enlightenment might reflect his own social circle: "Almost everyone I know in Europe among the professional and business classes has some small second home in the country somewhere—a dacha usually belonging to the family for generations. While working people may not be as fortunate, on any given weekend they can be seen exiting the cities en masse." But it doesn't give him much of a handle on the destruction of local agricultural markets in Portugal or Greece, the exploitation of migrant labor in Spain, urban squalor in Scotland or the scale of environmental devastation in Poland and eastern Germany.

Rifkin's European *Übermenschen* are kind, gentle and terribly concerned about the Third World. Europe's $8 donation for each sub-Saharan African does look generous compared with American stinginess—less so in light of the $913 a head Europeans spend subsidizing their cows. Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder may be heroes of the antiwar movement, but part of the price of solidarity was German backing for French efforts to block reform of the Common Agricultural Policy—a system of subsidies paid mostly to wealthy West European farmers who then dump cheap food on Third World markets, driving out local producers. Germany also dropped many of its objections to a draft European Constitution whose author, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, is better known for accepting diamonds from a cruel Central African dictator than for progressive zeal. (Giscard's most recent claim on public attention was his pronouncement in *Le Monde* that if Turkey were allowed to join the EU, "in my opinion, it would be the end of Europe.")

In the United States, 'family values' means morals policing; in Europe, it means investing tax revenues to support child-raising.

If Europeans haven't quite built the cooperative commonwealth, what have they built? The EU, writes T.R. Reid, betraying just a hint of patriotic anxiety, already has "a president, a parliament, a constitution, a cabinet, a central bank, a bill of rights, a unified patent office, and a court system with the power to overrule the highest courts of every member nation. It has a 60,000 member army (or 'European Rapid Reaction Force' to be precise) that is independent of NATO or any other outside control. It has its own space agency with 200 satellites in orbit and a project under way to send a European to Mars before Americans get there."

As befits a reporter for the *Washington Post*, Reid follows the money. Mario Monti is hardly a household name even in London, but as the EU Director General for Competition he scuttled American management idol Jack Welch's biggest deal, a merger between GE (based in Connecticut) and Honeywell (headquarters in New Jersey). Last year Monti slapped Microsoft with a $600 million fine and ordered the firm to rewrite the Windows operating system. Far from the hidebound *dirigiste* cripple conjured by Mead or Kagan, Reid's "United States of Europe" is an economic superpower fully capable of challenging the USA. Indeed, the euro has already put the dollar in the shade. Reid, who headed *Post* bureaus in Tokyo and London, really earns his trench coat with his account of the European currency's unexpected triumph (Kissinger was famously dubious; George Will flatly predicted "it will not work").

Europe's other enormous achievement is a half-century of peace on what was once the killing floor of the West. Much of the credit may well be due to the cold war, and a lot of the rest to American aid and protection. Still, the growth of what the Germans call *Zivilmacht*—harder than Harvard professor Joseph Nye's "soft power," a muscular sense of civil society as a force in world affairs—is one fruit of Europe's long peace. The European social model is the other. Here again it is important to be clear on what that model is not—in a word, socialism. But the breadth of the European consensus, and a sense of how wide the Atlantic has become on these matters, can be seen when Reid quotes the leader of Norway's conservative Christian Democrats: "We have decided that raising a child is real work. And that this work provides value for the whole society. And that the society as a whole should pay for this valuable service. Americans like to talk about family values. We have decided to do more than talk; we use our tax revenues to pay for family values." And Norway isn't even in the EU!

As Timothy Garton Ash points out, the United States actually spends more public money on Medicaid coverage for 40 million poor Americans than the National Health Service does looking after all 60 million Britons. *Free World*, his optimistic paean to the "surprising future of the West," is extremely kind to the United States; he even takes seriously a senior Administration official's description of the Bush doctrine as "merg[ing] Wilsonianism with power." But Iraq was too much of a stretch even for a man who spends part of the year as a fellow of the Hoover Institution. Readers whose formative political ex-

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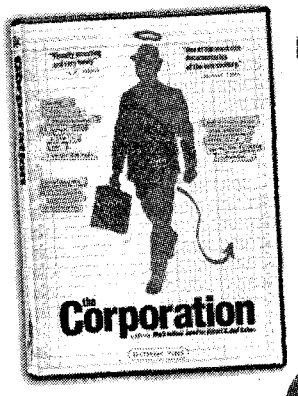

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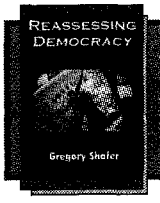

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periences were in the antiapartheid or disinvestment fights, or in Central American solidarity work, will find much to argue with in Garton Ash's passionate belief that "the West" and freedom are synonymous. Many of us would join David Calleo in wondering, "[Was] the collapse of the Soviet Union, in itself, a vindication of capitalism?"

Yet for those of us on his left, Garton Ash is not just an honorable opponent—he's also worth learning from. His account of how European integration shaped the Continent—"the politics of induction"—is particularly elegant: "First, there's magnetic induction. The magnetic attractions of West European freedom and prosperity induced in Spaniards, Poles, Czechs and Portuguese a desire to emulate and come closer to them. Then there's formal induction into membership of the club. Because Europeans not in the club have been so strongly attracted to joining it, they have been prepared to accept its intrusive demands as they strive for membership. Those demands...[extend from] free elections, the rule of law and free markets to respect for individual and minority rights." Turkey's newly professed tolerance for political and cultural minorities—though far from perfect—is just the most recent example of what the carrot of European entry can achieve.

Zivilmacht, the politics of induction, or what Tzvetan Todorov in *The New World Disorder* calls "tranquil power," will not always be sufficient. "After all," Todorov admits, "the European Union became possible only through a military victory, that of the allies over Nazi Germany." When it does work, peaceful change takes longer. "And yet, from the democratic point of view, when the same end can be reached by two means—rapidly by violence or slowly without it—slowness is preferable. It is better to disarm Iraq in four months without killing anyone than to disarm it in four weeks while killing thousands of people." A Bulgarian-born French intellectual who began as a literary critic and has lately become the most interesting moral thinker on the Continent, Todorov rejects the alibi of "humanitarian war" so often invoked by imperialism's liberal apologists: "The law of the excluded middle doesn't rule in the political domain, and non-military action remains possible; democracies are not really obliged to choose between Munich (cowardly capitulation) and Dresden (murderous bombing)."

This refusal of forced choices is, I would argue, the real source of Europe's radical promise. Increasingly Americans are told we must choose: Social Security or economic prosperity, job growth or workers' rights, Homeland Security or civil liberties. The right in America is well aware of the threat. Listen to Walter Russell Mead trying to console himself: "given Europe's low birth rates, the rise of an alienated, mostly Muslim, disaffected population seems inevitable." Notice the caricature, on Fox and talk-radio, of a continent of anti-Semitic cheese-eating surrender monkeys. Or the use of "European" as an epithet in the presidential election. And notice, too, how attentive the Hoover Institution has suddenly become to Western Europe. Likewise the American Enterprise Institute, which launched a New Atlantic Initiative, chaired by Radek Sikorski (married to Anne Applebaum), and whose patrons include José María Aznar, Henry Kissinger, Margaret Thatcher and Vaclav Havel.

Militarily weak, institutionally clumsy and with its own internal contradictions—over immigration, religious diversity and how best to respond to the pressure of multinational corporations—Europe offers not a paradise, or even a dream, but a thriving alternative to the American Way. Neoliberals who cast labor unions as enemies of prosperity have to explain why jobs have grown faster in Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands—all countries where workers enjoy the full European menu of workers' rights—than in the United States. The recent Supreme Court decision halting capital punishment for minors was an acknowledgment of the force of European example, as was Justice Anthony Kennedy's opinion in *Lawrence v. Texas*. In support of his argument to overturn the Texas sodomy law, Kennedy cited a European court decision upholding "the rights of homosexual adults to engage in intimate, consensual conduct."

Exhortation and example are not the EU's only leverage. When President Eisenhower wanted the British to withdraw from Suez, he threatened to sell US holdings in sterling and set off a run on the pound. Javad Yarjani, the Iranian head of OPEC's market analysis department, has already suggested that oil should be priced in euros instead of dollars, since Europe imports far more oil than America—a shift that would drive the dollar even lower, forcing US interest rates (and the cost of living) upward.

"The 'problem' of America is not that it is uniquely evil or violent or corrupt, but that it is dominant. The only real question is whether anyone in the world can yet be saved from its influence." In 1968, when Andrew Kopkind wrote those words, the American empire was going through a troubled adolescence. Much has changed

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since then, not least the necessary acknowledgement by progressives that many of the empire's opponents do not share our values or our goals. Given the global reach of American influence, perhaps the fundamental question also needs to be re-phrased: Can America be contained? Less a call to the barricades than a recognition that in the world we're in, the struggle to contain America is tranquil power's greatest challenge. In this fight, we are all Europeans now. ■

FILMS

Tipsy Turvy

STUART KLAWANS

MONDOVINO • DON'T MOVE

Like a melodrama or a political tract—genres it sometimes resembles, in an honorable way—Jonathan Nossiter's documentary *Mondovino* has a villain you can hiss at. In fact, there are three.

Chief among them is wine tycoon Robert Mondavi, whom Nossiter visits at his sprawling headquarters in California's Napa Valley. Stone-faced and taciturn—he usually lets others do the talking for him—Mondavi is posed at a slight remove from Nossiter's camera, in partial shadow, like a Coppola mob boss.

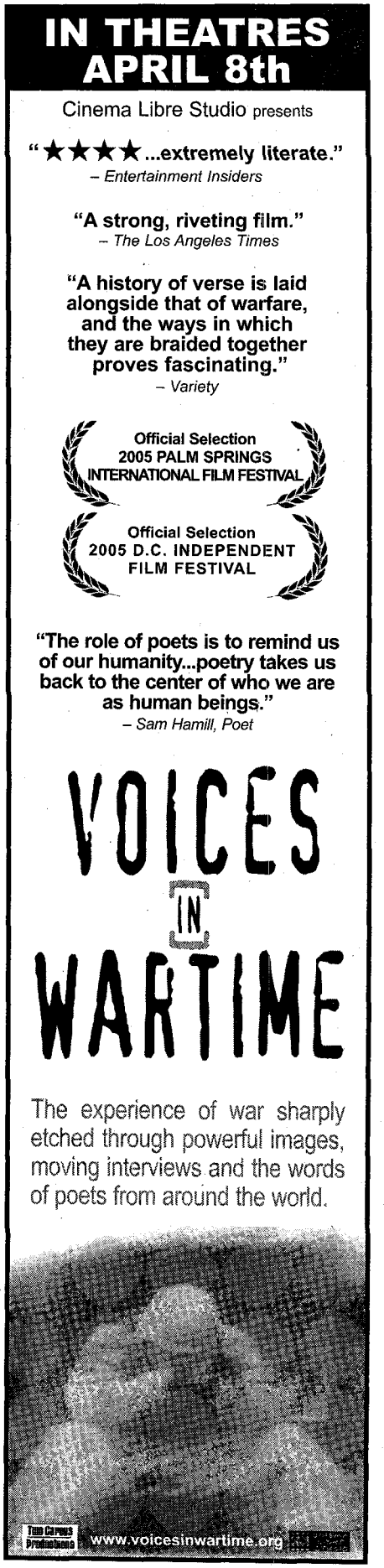
Cast in the role of Mondavi's international hit man is dark-bearded, laughing Michel Rolland, a "flying winemaker" with clients in a dozen countries. Nossiter most often shows Rolland in the back seat of his chauffeur-driven Mercedes, talking on the phone and chortling over his own power as he prowls through the chateaus of Bordeaux. At each stop, he gives the same order: "Micro-oxygenate!"

Most ingenuous of the villains, though fully as dangerous, is the wine-rating journalist Robert Parker. Modest in demeanor compared with his friends Mondavi and Rolland, yet equally sure of himself, Parker enjoys making earnest speeches about the American frankness and self-reliance—no, the American democracy!—that he believes he has brought to the world of wine. Recorded at his home in Monkton, Maryland, he delivers the first of these orations beneath an autographed portrait of President Ronald Reagan.

If wine is the result of an age-old "religious relationship among human beings, the living earth and the climate"—so says Aimé Guibert, proprietor of a small chateau in Languedoc—then Mondavi, Rolland and Parker must be the satanic trinity. Through an alliance of entrepreneurial muscle, technocratic prestige and journalistic influence, they have built up an ever-growing international demand for a single flavor of "great wine" that can be produced regularly, in ample quantity, without regard for the idiosyncrasies of this or that plot of soil. First the Bordeaux were homogenized. ("Now Bordeaux worships only money," Guibert complains.) Then came the Tuscans. ("These are all the same wine," admits the owner of the Vinci wine shop in Volterra, waving at the multitudinous labels.) Now Rolland is advising winemakers in Argentina, Parker is scoring the results in the 90s and the Mondavi company is expanding into yet another territory.

It is a joke, but just barely, when one of the world-conquering Mondavis predicts that he will make wine on Mars. It is glib, but only a little, to call *Mondovino* the *Sideways* of antiglobalization films.

I must add immediately that *Mondovino* is itself a global product. Nossiter had financing enough to bring his video camera to four regions of France, to Tuscany, Sardinia, London, New York, Maryland, California, the northeast of Argentina and Pernambuca, Brazil. His intellectual capital was even more impressive; it taught him the connections among all these places and enabled him to converse fluently with the residents of each. Having invested these considerable resources in *Mondovino*, Nossiter is now marketing it internationally to an arthouse audience made up of people much like himself. In terms of income, education and freedom of movement, they will surely have more in common with him than with his final interview subject, an impoverished Indian named Antonio Cabezas, who makes wine on a one-hectare property in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Argentina. And given the consumerist tendencies of the art-house class, you can bet that some members of this audience will reduce the politics of *Mondovino* to a matter of good taste. From now on, they will turn up their noses at those bland Pomerols, preferring to seek out the rare and authentic wines of Antonio Cabezas.

Without a doubt, Nossiter is implicated in the problems he exposes—but I see no reason to dismiss him for it, any more than you would dismiss Archimedes for his failure to step off the earth. The lever worked, all the same. The main question here is, What works for Nossiter?

The answer, first of all, is family dynamics. On his tour through the world of wine, Nossiter learned that family proprietorship is still common; and this discovery allowed him to develop part of the film as a kind of found melodrama. In Volnay, in the Burgundy region, he spent much time with a proud and eloquent old winemaker named Hubert de Montille, who has passed on his vocation to his two grown children. He handed over the vineyard to his son, Etienne, who worries Hubert with his humorlessness and drive for efficiency. Meanwhile, Hubert's daughter, Alix, took a job as winemaker for Burgundy's biggest corporate producer. Can Alix remain true to her father's principles? Will Etienne sell out to the globalists? Nossiter does not cue the organ music (his soundtrack is too hip for that), but he does turn the de Montille family into exemplary characters, whose story can be played off against the equally instructive tales of other clans: the Mondavis, the Staglins, the Frescobaldis, the Antinoris.

The aristocratic candor of the latter families is something else that works for Nossiter. Once he penetrates their milieu, he no longer has to hint at the political implications of his subject but merely needs to keep the microphone switched on. His subjects are perfectly willing to own up to their Fascist history, which apparently is not quite over. "Mussolini did some great things for Italy, which we're still enjoying today," says one Frescobaldi, speaking with the Duce's own vehemence. Another, more polished in delivery, allows that, yes, the old marquis adhered to Fascism, "but for his own purposes."

I imagine this shamelessness must be contagious, because James Suckling, an American writer for Robert Parker's *Wine Advocate*, soon joins in. Interviewed at a favored Tuscan winery, he loudly asserts that France is over. Italy is where things are happening now, thanks to Berlusconi. Look at how easy it was for Mondavi to come into Italy and buy Antinori. The French and their "ridiculous socialist government" would never have allowed it.

Nossiter clearly has a talent for eliciting such moments of self-exposure; but when he doesn't get them, he can make a scene work by letting the camera wander. He will sometimes ignore the ostensible interview subject, leaving him to blather at one side of the frame, while the rest of the screen is taken up by the background image of a worker toiling away. At other times, without warning, Nossiter will zoom in at mid-interview for an extreme close-up, as if he had just noticed that his interlocutor has really scary eyes.

The seeming randomness of these gestures may be what works best of all for Nossiter. His camera is wonderfully distractible—any dog who trots into the frame gets immediate attention—and his sequencing of scenes can be deliberately giddy. (It's enough to say that he begins the film by showing a coconut harvest in Brazil. "Hey!" he calls to the workers. "Can you make wine out of coconuts?") There are no dull moments in *Mondovino*, but there are plenty to remind you that wine, apart from having an exchange value, is something that gets you drunk.

That's a remarkable achievement. *Mondovino* gives you a buzz and at the same time sobers you up.

The extraordinary Italian actor Sergio Castellitto, whose work was the subject of a recent retrospective at the Film Society of Lincoln Center, took his first crack at directing in 1998 with a picture titled *Libero Burro* and has now come out with an impressive second effort, *Don't Move* (*Non Ti Muovere*). Based on a prize-winning novel of the same name, which was written by his wife, Margaret Mazzantini, *Don't Move* provides the many opportunities you would expect for big acting. Castellitto and his co-star get to cry, scream, make self-revelatory speeches and engage in rough sex. The good news is that, even more often, they make small gestures, in scenes that are focused not on outward display but on the inner lives of the characters and the stark differences between their social worlds.

The story, told mostly in flashback, plays out in the mind of a wealthy surgeon named Timoteo, whose teenage daughter has just suffered a terrible accident. As he waits at the hospital to find out whether she will live, Timoteo confuses his thoughts of his daughter with his memories of another young woman who was once in similar extremity: the isolated and impoverished Italia, with whom he had an adulterous affair.

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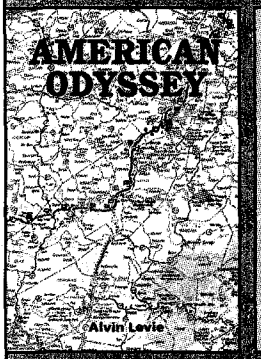

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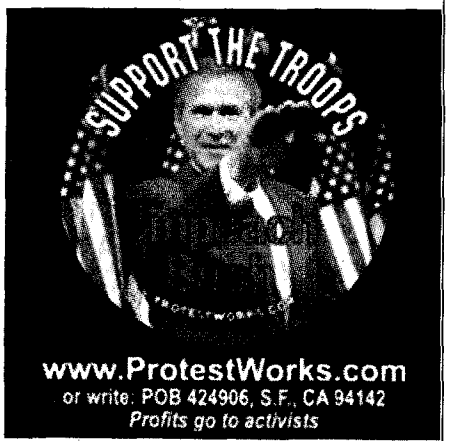

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They did not meet cute. Some fifteen years earlier, while Timoteo was on the road far from his fancy beach house, his fancy car broke down, stranding him in one of those sparsely populated outlying slums where you can't find a mechanic or even a pay phone. It was a blazing summer day, and the only shelter to be found was in a cheap roadhouse. There, Timoteo first saw Italia—the fantastically gorgeous Penélope Cruz, who for this role has been transformed with a nasty, ratty hairdo, raccoon smudges under her eyes, a set of Jerry Lewis's old false teeth and a dress made out of a discarded shower curtain. Italia looked beat-up even before she volunteered to let Timoteo use her telephone, back in the shack she inhabited in the middle of a deserted construction site. Once he'd visited her, she looked rather worse.

As the beginnings of relationships go, this was worse than unpromising. It was unforgivable. And yet through direction that is patient, fluid and sometimes dreamlike, and through acting that remains deeply committed to the characters, *Don't Move* develops a credible love affair between these two. Cruz at first plays Italia almost like a sleepwalker. She is so powerless against the rich, authoritative Timoteo that impassivity is her only defense. ("What do you do for a living?" he asks at their second encounter, remembering at last to make a little conversation. In reply, she merely stares at him and chews her gum.) Her performance comes across as a slow awakening, as Italia painfully discovers her own possibilities for wit, anger and warmth.

Timoteo, by contrast, already has that whole repertoire, and more. But he's not in command of it; he seems to be watching himself, with a mixture of alarm and curiosity, to see what he'll do next. Since one of Castellitto's greatest gifts as an actor is his apparent spontaneity, he carries you along through these fits of self-discovery, which are perhaps most exhilarating (and also most tortured) during his reckless bouts of public confession. Those are the moments when his big, dark eyes glint. His fast-talking lips pull back in a sardonic grin. With a bob of his head, a hunch of his shoulders, he signals that he'd throw in the towel, if only the invisible opponent would show himself, if only there were a referee to stop this match.

I note, for the sake of completeness, that the screenplay (by Mazzantini and Castellitto) sometimes dumps whole chunks of backstory into the viewer's lap; that crucifixion imagery abounds; and that the choice of Italia's name is woefully meaningful. These things, you can manage to ignore. ■

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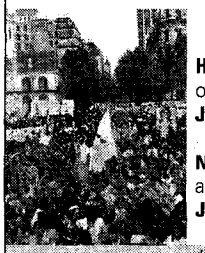

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TUCSON, AZ, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Dave at (520) 885-4767.

DENTON (CORINTH), TX *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (940) 498-4485 or john2348@charter.net for more information.

WILLOW SPRINGS, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. E-mail Mollie Belcher at Mjb1009@msn.com for more information.

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BREVARD, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. E-mail Jim at JKeenen@aol.com or Don at GAIA@citcom.net.

THE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP of the Inland Northwest is forming in the Cheney/Spokane area of eastern Washington. For information contact Gil Murray. Tel: (509) 235-1574; e-mail murraygil@aol.com.

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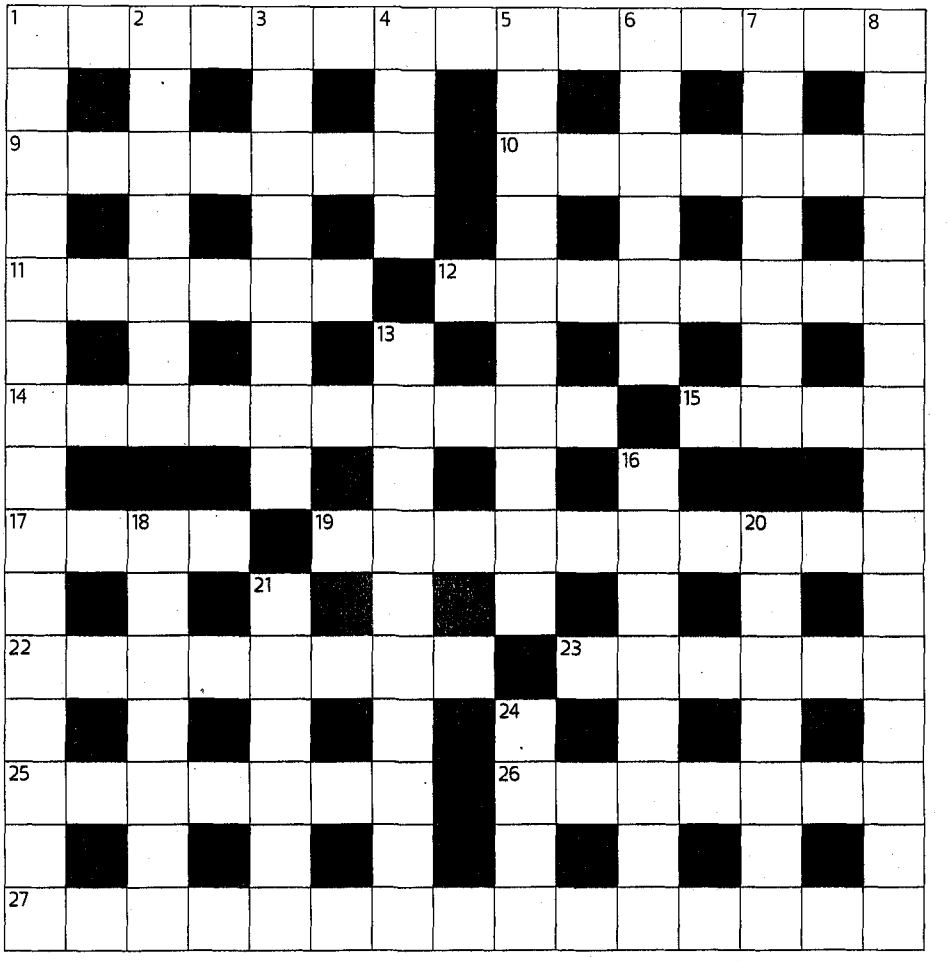
FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Well, for one thing, it's a clubby group of people! (You do when you go around the circumference.) (8,1,6)

9 Beginning the scale the old way, with wrong lines formed in the kitchen, possibly. (7)

10 Will it be enough to say this should be almost all sufficient, at one point. (7)

11 Turn-key, perhaps, in jail. (4-2)

12 At least this crew doesn't work in the dark, typified by changing the dentist's appointment from Thursday to Tuesday. (3-5)

14 and **24** down Tell, for example, both him and the girl who had a following at school, or college. (7,3,4)

15 A capital rendition of a not-very-good solo! (4)

17 How I got out of a possibly unfriendly country? (4)

19 Gilbert and Sullivan's was highly susceptible—being official in such as 14-24. (10)

22 Takes advantage of good deeds. (8)

23 Moves very slowly with what perhaps follows the company she's wrong to follow. (6)

25 A really stupid action. (7)

26 A right beginning for one of Sheridan's characters, notice of it posted in the lounge. (7)

27 Not those batteries one keeps for the time the lights go out—and authorities may take them in time of trouble. (9,6)

DOWN

1 Supposedly not to be crossed, with one that stands in for another having an all Aryan pitch. (6,5,4)

2 Perhaps listen with a fairly large number inside, which may be part of the pattern. (7)

3 A villainous figure at court, when the god gets installed. (8)

4 It's comparatively clear that a ringer must be put in here. (4)

5 Refusing to join in when tar gets dirtying up the place! (10)

6 Imbue with the fine sort, when we collectively get inside. (6)

7 They usually review the troupes, rather than the troops. (7)

8 They might be posted to say who is supposed to come in to the office. (8,7)

13 She was responsible for Hercules making 24 "not hip" possibly. (10)

16 A first name in the art world proves such as Trotsky had a bad road to follow! (8)

18 Hoped to do in Munich to copy things said to be very much alike on the inside. (7)

20 An important landing place the French have right inside! (2,5)

21 Causing a great deal of emotion when the van may take part in it. (6)

24 See 14 across

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2980

■	C	R	Y	P	T	O	G	R	A	P	H	E	R	■
F	■	O	■	R	■	Y	■	E	■	U	■	G	■	H
L	A	U	R	E	L	S	■	P	A	L	M	Y	R	A
A	■	N	■	L	■	T	■	O	■	L	■	P	■	N
G	O	D	L	I	N	E	S	S	■	O	C	T	A	D
G	■	■	■	M	■	R	■	I	■	U	■	I	■	■
I	N	T	U	I	T	■	I	N	I	T	I	A	L	S
N	■	H	■	N	■	H	■	G	■	A	■	N	■	M
G	O	E	S	A	W	A	Y	■	A	L	A	S	K	A
■	■	M	■	R	■	L	■	P	■	L	■	■	■	L
R	A	I	N	Y	■	F	O	R	E	S	T	A	L	L
A	■	K	■	H	■	S	■	O	■	T	■	D	■	F
P	L	A	C	E	B	O	■	B	L	O	O	M	E	R
S	■	D	■	A	■	L	■	E	■	P	■	A	■	Y
■	F	O	R	T	H	E	P	R	E	S	E	N	T	■

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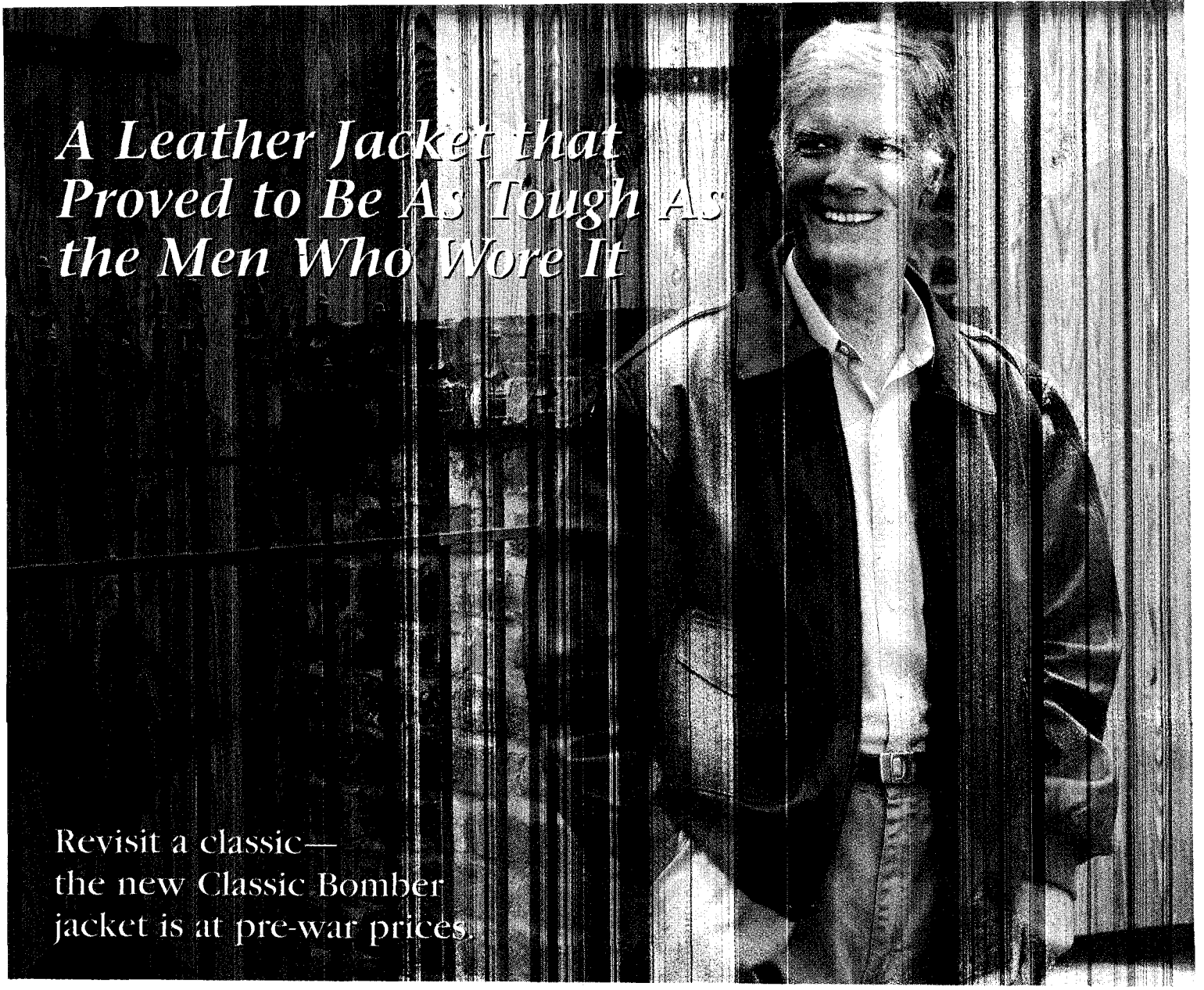
A Leather Jacket that Proved to Be As Tough As the Men Who Wore It



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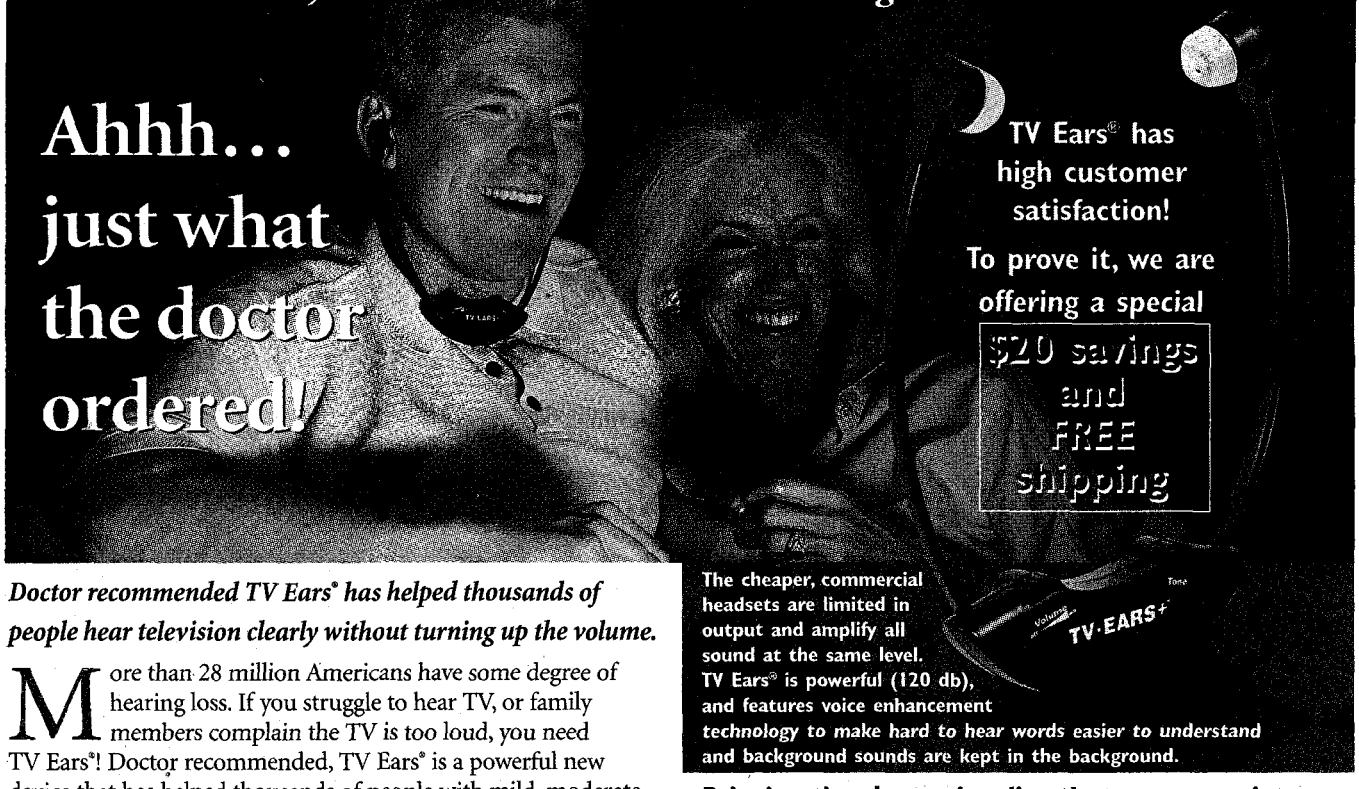

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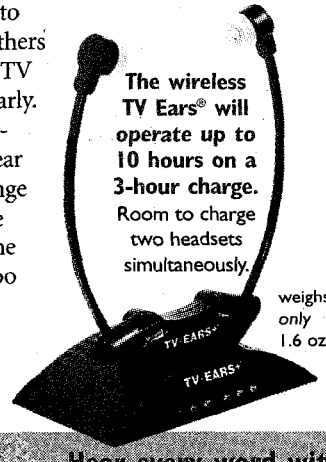

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